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THESIS

**THE IMPACT OF LAND BORDER SECURITY ON
TERRORISM FINANCING: TURKEY'S SOUTHEAST
LAND BORDER AND THE PKK**

by

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December 2013

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**THE IMPACT OF LAND BORDER SECURITY ON TERRORISM FINANCING:
TURKEY'S SOUTHEAST LAND BORDER AND THE PKK**

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ABSTRACT

Terrorism has become the one of the major threats facing many states. Understanding the potential sources of and preventing the financial support of terrorist organizations takes an important place in countering terrorism. This thesis focuses on the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) financing activities through the land border of Turkey. In doing so, this study mainly examines how the Turkish border security system can stop the trans-border financial activities of PKK along its land borders with Iran, Iraq and Syria. This thesis also takes the U.S. as a case study in terms of border security measures, and within that framework, makes recommendations for safeguarding Turkey's land borders to prevent financial activities of the PKK terrorist organization without affecting free trade and the economic flow of services. Presently, the Turkish border security system is fragmented and poorly coordinated. Border management is currently split between the army, gendarmerie, police and coast guard. Moreover, international and interdepartmental collaborations are extremely limited. The prevention of cross-border financial activities of the PKK might be accomplished by forming an independent border security agency, adopting modern international standards and the latest technological innovations, and sustaining international and interdepartmental cooperation.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------|--|
| CBP | Customs and Border Protection |
| CIS | Citizenship and Immigration Services |
| CSI | Cargo Security Initiative |
| C-TPAT | Customs-Trade Partnership Against Terrorism |
| DHS | Department of Homeland Security |
| ELN | National Liberation Army |
| EU | European Union |
| EXBS | Export Control and Related Border Security |
| FARC | The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia |
| FAST | Free and Secure Trade |
| ICE | Immigration and Customs Enforcement |
| IDENT | Biometric Identification System |
| LTTE | Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| NSEERS | National Security Entry-Exit Registration System |
| OFO | Office of Field Operations |
| PSI | Proliferation Security Initiative |
| PKK | Kurdistan Worker's Party |
| SBI | Secure Border Initiative |
| SENTRI | Secure Electronic Network for Travelers Rapid Inspection |
| SOG | Special Operations Group |
| TF | Terrorism Financing |
| TI | Tactical Infrastructure |
| UAV | Unmanned Aerial Vehicle |
| UN | United Nations |
| UTSAM | International Center for Terrorism and Transnational Crime |
| USCG | U.S. Coast Guard |
| USBP | U.S. Border Patrol |
| US-VISIT | United States Visitor and Immigrant Status Indication Technology |
| VACIS | Vehicle and Cargo Inspection System |
| WMD | Weapons of Mass Destruction |

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. THE PURPOSE OF THE THESIS

The purpose of this thesis is 1) to evaluate the financing activities of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) through the land border of Turkey and 2) to examine the U.S. as a case study in terms of border security measures, and within that framework, 3) to make recommendations for safeguarding Turkey's land borders to prevent the financial activities of the PKK terrorist organization without affecting free trade and the economic flow of services.

The PKK, founded in November 27, 1978, was described in a 2010 Europol report as an "ethno-nationalist and separatist terrorist group seeking international recognition and political self-determination."¹ In addition, it is recognized as a terrorist organization by U.S. and European Union (EU) laws.² Being active for more than 30 years, PKK has been a part of the violence in Turkey during that period, and it has cost at least 30,000 lives on both sides.³ According to Jeanne K. Giraldo and Harold A. Trinkunas, terrorist organizations such as the PKK require financial resources to survive, and countering the financial substructure of the terrorist unit is the key to overthrowing the terrorist threat completely.⁴ This study focuses primarily on the financial structure of a specific terrorist organization, the PKK, and how to counter the financial support of this organization by means of strengthened borders. In addition, this thesis studies the

¹ Mitchel P. Roth and Murat Sever, "Cutting off the Hand that Feeds it: Countering Terrorist-Financing in the 21st Century," *International Journal of Security and Terrorism* 1, no. 1 (2010): 59–77, 69; TESAT Europol, "Report (2010)," *EU Terrorism Situation and Trend Report [Electronic Resource]*, *TESAT 2010*.

² Sedat Laciner, "The West and Terrorism: PKK as A Privileged Terrorist Organization," *Turkish Weekly* 14 (2006); Mitchel P. Roth and Murat Sever, "The Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) as Criminal Syndicate: Funding Terrorism through Organized Crime, A Case Study," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 30, no. 10 (2007): 901–920.

³ Michael Radu, "The Rise and Fall of the PKK," *Orbis* 45, no. 1 (2001): 47–63.

⁴ Jeanne K. Giraldo and Harold A. Trinkunas, *Terrorism Financing and State Response: A Comparative Perspective* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 21–22, 365.

effectiveness of Turkey's border security progress in preventing transnational crime and Turkey's effectiveness at participating in provincial collaboration for prevention of illegal trafficking.

B. IMPORTANCE OF THE THESIS

Since the adoption of the United Nations International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism in 1999, financing has become a critical issue in the countering terrorism. Michael Freeman argues that terrorism funding methods can be collected under four main categories: state sponsorship, popular support, illegal activities and legal activities.⁵ Although there are some states, such as Syria and Iran, that continue to finance terrorism, most countries have generally stopped financing terrorist organizations since the end of the Cold War. This strategic shift led terrorist organizations to find financial support on their own. As Giraldo and Trinkunas posit, "The end of the Cold War and globalization have accelerated and facilitated the diversification of the terrorist funding portfolio."⁶ As a result, terrorist organizations have started to derive the majority of their income mostly from lucrative illegal activities.

Second, since I will study the relation between border security and terrorism financing activities, the PKK serves as a good example because of its cross-border activities. The settlement of the organization has been along the crossroads and borders of Iraq, Iran and Syria. It conducts its activities within these three states as well as Turkey. The PKK has been manipulating Turkey's geopolitical and geostrategic location for terrorist and organized criminal activities. Situated at the crossroads of Asia, the Middle East and Europe, Turkey gives the PKK access to 5,000 miles of coastline.⁷ From this perspective, Turkey's eastern and southeastern borders have been the key element of the PKK's financial activities, particularly illegal ones. Following the intervention of the

⁵ Michael Freeman, *Financing Terrorism: Case Studies* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 237.

⁶ Giraldo and Trinkunas, *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective*, 365, 19.

⁷ Roth and Sever, "The Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) as Criminal Syndicate: Funding Terrorism through Organized Crime, A Case Study," 906–907.

United States in Iraq in 2003, the PKK took advantage of the turmoil in the south to open new camps in the Kandil Mountains and manage its illegal financial activities around these borders.

Third, even though the fight against PKK terrorism has been conducted for more than 30 years, its efforts to gain income could not be prevented until now. This means a new approach is necessary in countering sources of financial support for the PKK. According to Alexander Bligh, recent terrorist activities have highlighted the need to share intelligence and to create a comprehensive framework to combat terror financing.⁸ Thus, it is important to lay out the problems of Turkey's Southeast border in terms of PKK's financing activities. Besides, in this technologically-organized new century, it is crucial to point out the challenges in countering terrorist financing in Turkey's Southeast land border in order to strengthen Turkey's frontiers. By doing so, this study seeks to help Turkey adopt a new approach to border protection. This new approach suggests that traditional security practices along the borders should be innovatively fitted to modern international standards and new technological developments. In this way, it will be more effective in combatting the financing activities of the PKK along the borders. The study concludes with strategic-level policy recommendations on border security by examining the U.S. case.

The study also suggests that a civilian, non-military, professional single body be established to oversee border management, including surveillance of borders and checks at all border gates. In doing so, Turkey should produce an action plan to create the basis of the border management reform and determine the legal and institutional improvements, training activities and infrastructure and equipment investments required. In addition, these recommendations provide Turkish politicians and security authorities with a proposal to expand collaboration and effectiveness for border-related issues. This thesis seeks to raise awareness among relevant departments, which is the first step in implementing desired changes that will eventually enhance Turkey's land borders.

⁸ Alexander Bligh, "Developing Intelligence in the Field of Financing Terror—An Analytical Model of Anti-Terror Inter Agency and Cross Border Cooperation: The Security of Financial Systems Dimension" Academic Conferences International Limited, July 2011.

C. PROBLEMS AND HYPOTHESIS

The considerable length of Turkey's land borders with Iran, Iraq and Syria make it hard to control them efficiently. And the PKK terrorist organization has been taking advantage of these long borders. Most of the PKK's terrorism funding activities is related to these border activities. Furthermore, the people living in these border areas make money from different types of cross-border activities. An uncontrolled border line threatens the national security of Turkey especially in terms of PKK's funding activities. As John L. Lombardini and David J. Sanchez assert, instability and ineffectiveness of legal and governmental organizations provide safe havens for terrorists, arms/drug smugglers and money launderers like those in the Tri-Border Area (widely known as the Triple Frontier between Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay) of South America.⁹

It has been commonly suggested that globalization has harmed the sovereignty of states and it made borders more open and vulnerable to any kind of threat. Thus, states more than ever seek to protect themselves from external threats and ensure that their borders are more secure than ever. Nonetheless, there are many advantages to soft borders, such as establishing good relations with neighboring states, sustaining border regions' economic prosperity and contributing to open and free market economies. So, the level of border security matters at this point. The balance between economic wellbeing and the security of the motherland should be considered very carefully in terms of countering finances of terrorism.

Some scholars, such as Murat Sever and Mitchel P. Roth, suggest that international cooperation between law enforcement agencies can achieve the same result perform the same function. They state that the United States should play a bigger role in bringing Turkey and the EU together to combat the financial activities of the PKK.¹⁰ These suggestions, however, fall short in offering a coherent strategy to reduce the terrorism financing activities of PKK. Michael Freeman argues that terrorist

⁹ John L. Lombardini and David J. Sanchez, "Terrorist Financing and the Tri-Border Area of South America," in *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective*, eds. Jeanne K. Giraldo and Harold A. Trinkunas (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 231–246.

¹⁰ Roth and Sever, *Cutting off the Hand that Feeds it: Countering Terrorist-Financing in the 21st Century*, 59–77, 70.

organizations consider the following six concerns in picking a financing means: quantity, legitimacy, security, reliability, control and simplicity. These criteria make one potential source of income more attractive than others for terrorist organizations.¹¹ PKK's financing methods include most of these criteria in terms of cross-border activities. In this study, the author hypothesizes that there is a strong relationship between the strength of border security and the ability to reduce terrorism financing activities of the PKK. The author also hypothesizes that international cooperation and the use of UAVs (Unmanned Aerial Systems) as border security measures are the best methods to reduce such activities of the PKK. The key objective of this thesis is to find out what the correlation is between border security and the financing activities of the PKK. Although there are many studies examining the financing methods of the PKK, the characteristic properties of each method are not analyzed in depth. Therefore, the author will try to fill this gap by demonstrating that the PKK is mainly financing its activities by using the Turkish land border, and so, strengthening borders can help combat the financing activities of the PKK. In other words, stronger borders can choke the flow of PKK funding from external sources.

First, all kinds of smuggling activities, especially drug smuggling, have been an important financing activity for PKK. Turkey's long and geographically tough land border makes it hard to control the border effectively. These uncontrolled border areas facilitate PKK control in the region and simplify smuggling, thereby leading the PKK to shift its financing activities to the border area. Freeman explains the simplicity criteria with these words: "Methods that require fewer specialized skills, that require as little effort as possible, that have simpler processes, and that have fewer inherent costs will be more desirable than other methods." Moreover, the control criteria play an important role in terms of cross-border activities. By using border areas, terrorist organizations collect the revenues in one hand and centralize the funding activities. This centralization gives rise to more control over sub-units. Lastly, the reliability criteria influence the PKK's decision to head towards the border area. As Freeman has noted, predictable and

¹¹ Michael Freeman, "The Sources of Terrorist Financing: Theory and Typology," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 34, no. 6 (June 2011): 461–475, 463, doi:10.1080/1057610X.2011.571193.

consistent sources are better for terrorist groups. For example, PKK takes advantage of being located along a traffic route of heroine which is a reliable revenue stream.¹² Therefore, we assume that sustaining the security of the border will halt the main financing activities of PKK. Disrupting the financial activities of the PKK terrorist organization will not only obstruct the launch of terrorist attacks, but it will also harm the capabilities of terrorist organizations.

Second, the financing system of terrorist organizations has different phases. Funding methods form only one segment of the complete financing cycle. At the same time, terrorist organizations move the money they earn and eventually spend or store their income. At this point, there is another relation between PKK financing activities through Turkey's land border. The PKK spends most of its income along with the cross-border activities. Weapons and ammunition purchases, as well as organizational and living expenses form a significant part of the expenditures of the organization. Since the estimated 1,500 terrorists inside Turkey's border have been transferred from Iraq, Iran and Syria through land borders, the money follows the same path in order to sustain of the lives of these terrorists inside Turkey. Thus, it is hard to stop the financing of terrorists inside Turkey without first securing its borders.

Third, the author seeks to explore which border issues of different countries might include good lessons for Turkey, especially in regard to terrorism financing activities. Illegal cross-border activity is a major homeland defense and security problem along Turkey's southeast border just as it is along the southwestern border of the United States. The former Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano announced in 2010 that UAV flights would begin along the Mexican border.¹³ In addition, authorities in the United States and Canada made an agreement on dealing with deterrence and detection of security threats along the U.S.-Canada border. The author expects that different countries' experiences and methods will shed light on Turkey's struggle to combat terrorist financing activities by strengthening border security. In

¹² Ibid., 464.

¹³ U.S. Department of Homeland Security, "Progress in Implementing New Security Measures along the Southwest Border," accessed June 10, 2013, <http://www.dhs.gov/news/2010/08/30/progress-implementing-new-security-measures-along-southwest-border>.

addition, the author believes the case study of Turkey's land border would be a model for other countries that have been suffering from similar terrorist activities through their borders. Moreover, the author suggests that, in order to sustain a more secure border, Turkey should persuade friendly countries (including the United States) and international organizations such as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, United Nations and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to analyze the region along the border and reform the security system of borders in accordance with global needs. By doing so, the author hopes his conclusions could be generalized so that other countries can draw from them.

D. METHODOLOGY AND SOURCES

The thesis relies on the comparative case study method, which uses the United States as a comparative case in order to evaluate the characteristics, general principles, practices and agencies of border-protection in Turkey. In doing so, our main focus will be on the financing methods of the PKK through transnational activities. Having established a complete picture of the current state of the PKK's cross-border financing activities, the author will focus on U.S. border protection measures. The main sources that the thesis relies on are theoretical and secondary reading materials from the Dudley Knox Library of the Naval Postgraduate School, information from the International Center for Terrorism and Transnational Crime of Turkish National Police Academy, available printed materials from Turkey's government departments and materials from the electronic sources of Worldcat and Pro-Quest. In regard to border security of the U.S., data and information provided from news reports, journal articles, official U.S. government and Congressional documents, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security and other agencies.

E. LITERATURE REVIEW

This section explores the literature on terrorism financing and border security, individually and in combination, in order to give insight into the framework of the analysis of the topic. As Friedrich G. Schneider has posited, the literature review should meet two points: "to widen the knowledge of this subject and the understanding of the

main issues under debate and to focus on the literature closely related to the research topic.”¹⁴ In light of his observation, the content of the material relevant to this study contains numerous studies, reports and literature produced in the form of government reports, journal articles and scholarly books.

1. Terrorism Financing

Terrorism financing (TF) has been studied academically at least since the 1970s.¹⁵ First and foremost, terrorist organizations need money, because as Freeman states, “terrorism costs money.”¹⁶ Similarly, more complicated and systematic organizations need funding sources in order to finance their activities. In fact, Roth and Sever claim that “terrorist groups need money above all else.”¹⁷ Like everyone else, terrorists need money for different reasons. A recent study conducted by Steve Kiser reveals the importance of money for terrorist organizations. In his research he interviewed “28 people including various analysts, professors and policymakers, 17 rated money as ‘highly important,’ eight rated money as ‘somewhat important,’ while only three rated money as ‘not very important’ for a global terrorist organization to function.”¹⁸ A terrorist organization not only gains money from different sources but also learns how to manage this money. As James Adams indicates, “good financial planning means having enough cash to buy and keep support, to pay for arms, and to build a propaganda base among the people the organization claims to represent.”¹⁹ Meanwhile, the financial body of terrorist activity has been one of the key areas of study for

¹⁴ Friedrich G. Schneider, *The (Hidden) Financial Flows of Terrorist and Organized Crime Organizations: A Literature Review and some Preliminary Empirical Results* (Rochester: Rochester, 2010), 4, <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1584191>.

¹⁵ Roth and Sever, *Cutting off the Hand that Feeds it: Countering Terrorist-Financing in the 21st Century*, 60.

¹⁶ Freeman, *The Sources of Terrorist Financing: Theory and Typology*, 461–475.

¹⁷ Roth and Sever, *Cutting off the Hand that Feeds It: Countering Terrorist-Financing in the 21st Century*, 61.

¹⁸ Steve Kiser, *Financing Terror: An Analysis of Simulation to Affect Al Qaeda’s Financial Infrastructures* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2005), 4.

¹⁹ James Adams, *The Financing of Terror* (London: New English Lib, 1986), 293, 238.

understanding terrorism. Bligh argues. “one of the major, yet understudied, dimensions of the analysis of terrorist activity, and the ways to counter it, is the financial dimension.”²⁰

In one such study, Nikos Passas states that terrorist fundraising is rarely innovative and mostly relies on the same kind of sources.²¹ As indicated earlier there are four general financing methods for terrorism: state sponsorship, popular support, illegal activities and legal activities. First, *state sponsorship* can be defined as government support of paramilitary groups or organizations engaged in terrorism. The support of Iran and Syria to Hezbollah can be a good example of state sponsorship. Besides Indian support for the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE - Sri Lanka) and Soviet support of the National Liberation Army (Ejercito de Liberacion Nacional - ELN - Colombia) are other examples of this type.²² According to Kiser, “[the] state sponsor of terrorism list includes seven states: Cuba, Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, Sudan, and Syria.”²³ The second group, *illegal activities*, has a wide range and can be defined as smuggling, drug trafficking, kidnapping and ransom, etc. These methods have been used by almost all terrorist organizations as a funding method. Drugs in particular have been a lucrative business for terrorist groups like the PKK, The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), ELN, and the Loyalists. For example, FARC allegedly earns \$500 million per year from the drug trade alone. On the other hand, Hezbollah and LTTE use theft, counterfeiting and fraud in order to finance their operations. The third form is *popular support*, which is widely seen under the cover of charities and donations. It can be briefly defined as support of a sympathetic population or constituency. Al-Qaeda and Hamas are the foremost groups using this method.²⁴ In addition to Hezbollah, the PKK and the

²⁰ Alexander Bligh, “Developing Intelligence in the Field of Financing Terror—An Analytical Model of Anti-Terror Inter Agency and Cross Border Cooperation: The Security of Financial Systems Dimension” Academic Conferences International Limited, July 2011), 31.

²¹ Nikos Passas, “Terrorism Financing Mechanisms and Policy Dilemmas,” in *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective*, eds. Jeanne K. Giraldo and Harold A. Trinkunas (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 24.

²² Freeman, *Financing Terrorism: Case Studies*, 237.

²³ Kiser, *Financing Terror: An Analysis of Simulation to Affect Al Qaeda’s Financial Infrastructures*, 110.

²⁴ Ibid., 26; Roth and Sever, *Cutting off the Hand that Feeds it: Countering Terrorist-Financing in the 21st Century*, 66.

LTTE are well-known groups that collect money from their ethnic and religious Diasporas around the world under the guise of “donations.” The last one, *legal activities*, is another type of terrorism financing method that operates under the cover of legal enterprises. For example, the Loyalists manage different types of legitimate businesses, such as drinking clubs, security firms and taxi firms to provide revenue to their movement.²⁵

2. Border Security

Securing borders has been a top priority of most states in the twenty-first century. According to an action plan prepared by the European Union, the main causes of trans-border activities include “worldwide developments, economic disparities and domestic warfare, heavy economic difficulties and hunger, general scarcity of food and epidemic diseases dissident by movements, regional crisis, the pressures by undemocratic administrations or their citizens, aspiration for better standards, widespread human rights violations.”²⁶ John Antal stresses the same point with regard to the changing structure of trans-border activities. According to Antal today threats to borders come not only from conventional attacks by enemy armies, but also from contemporary conflicts such as illegal immigration, smuggling, drug trafficking, criminal activities and mainly terrorism.²⁷ There are certain challenges in securing borders, as several academics have noted. As Judith A. Warner points out, making the borders both loose enough to allow citizens to pass and, at the same time, strict enough to stop smuggling of people and drugs is challenging and counterbalancing. It is hard to overcome and manage this tradeoff and establish border security.²⁸ Some other scholars emphasize cooperation in preventing the trans-border activities. According to Nilufer Karacasulu, with terrorism

²⁵ Freeman, *Financing Terrorism: Case Studies*, 237–238; Patricia Rodriguez-Rey, *A Balancing Act: Anti-Terror Financing Guidelines and their Effects on Islamic Charities* (Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, 2006), 85, 22–24.

²⁶ “Towards the Implementation of Turkey’s Integrated Border Management Strategy.” Abstract. *European Union Project*; Project Number: TR0204.01, no. National Action Plan (2002).

²⁷ John Antal, “Border Battles: The Future of Border Security Technology Along the US–Mexican Border,” *Military Technology* 34, no. 11 (2010): 53–62.

²⁸ Judith A. Warner, *United States Border Security: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2010), 3.

being more challenging with globalization, the traditional security perception of national borders is not capable of recognizing new threats that exceed the national borders. Terrorism in the twenty-first century entails cooperation for security.²⁹ In fact, Kolinda Grabar-Kitarovic emphasizes a similar point. According to her, since threat perceptions are changing due to the extraterritorial nature of globalized problems, traditional security threats are being reconsidered, thus redefining the concept of security by means of not only geopolitical, but also economic, social and other considerations. She also argues that global primacy makes the United States more susceptible to the trans-border threat.³⁰ Similarly, Loretta Napoleoni argues that counter-terrorism measures are becoming ineffective thanks to globalization. She gives the example of Youssef Nada, a terrorist financier banned from traveling by the UN, who was able to liquidate his enterprises and pass the Swiss border undetected several times.³¹ Actually, Jason Ackleson points out this dilemma: on one hand, sustaining the economic growth and sociocultural ties of the border regions is essential, while on the other hand, applying enhanced security measures at borders against the threats of terrorism and transnational criminal activity are equally important.³² To conclude, while some implementations support the idea of strict and old-fashioned border policy in spite of the increasing interaction among nations, some scholars argue that there is a growing necessity for reorganization of the border security system considering the realities of globalization.

Furthermore, monitoring borders and sustaining border security requires a coherent strategy, significant manpower and current technology. According to Antal, the tactical measures can be to see the border, then analyze the activity along the border and capture the infiltrators. New technologies, such as UAVs, should be used in addition to

²⁹ Nilufer Karacasulu, "Security and Globalization in the Context of International Terrorism," *Uluslararası Hukuk Ve Politika* 2, no. 5 (2006): 1–17.

³⁰ Kolinda Grabar-Kitarovic, "American Primacy and the Consequences of Globalization: Building Stable Security Under Conditions of Cross-Border Acceptance of National and Global Security," *Medunarodne Studije* 1, no. 4 (Jan 2001): 42–61.

³¹ Loretta Napoleoni, "Terrorism Financing in Europe," in *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective*, eds. Jeanne K. Giraldo and Harold A. Trinkunas (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 178.

³² Jason Ackleson, "Border Security Technologies: Local and Regional Implications," *Review of Policy Research* 22, no. 2 (Mar 2005), 150.

traditional ones such as fences and patrols.³³ Moreover, according to their action plan, the EU brings a new approach to the contemporary border security structure. According to this plan, governments shall establish a single civilian and professional organization to prepare the institutional and legislative reforms in order to perform the tasks of control and surveillance of borders more effectively.³⁴

3. Terrorism Financing and Border Security

Bligh suggests that “a significant proportion of the funds used directly or indirectly for terror purposes are transmitted through informal channels.”³⁵ What are these informal channels, and how is it possible to transfer money in the age of globalization? Globalization made borders more open and vulnerable to any kind of threat. When it comes to the illegal trans-border activities, states tend to take more precautions in order to prevent these kinds of activities. However, there are different opinions about the impact of the strength of the measures along the borders. If there is a weak government and loose border, security measures should be increased. Thomas H. Johnson notes that international resources have been required to secure Afghanistan to eliminate the manufacturing and transporting of opium.³⁶ As Roth and Sever argue, transitional and developing countries are the most profitable location for illegal businesses for organized crime and terrorism.³⁷ According to statements of arrested PKK members, the PKK formed checkpoints on the Iranian side of the Turkish-Iran border in order to tax smuggled items and provide guidance and courier services to traffickers.³⁸ By contrast, Israel adopted a stricter border policy during the Intifada. The Israeli

³³ Antal, *Border Battles: The Future of Border Security Technology Along the US-Mexican Border*, 54.

³⁴ “Towards the Implementation of Turkey’s Integrated Border Management Strategy,” abstract.

³⁵ Bligh, *Developing Intelligence in the Field of Financing Terror—An Analytical Model of Anti-Terror Inter Agency and Cross Border Cooperation: The Security of Financial Systems Dimension*, 31–33.

³⁶ Thomas H. Johnson, “Financing Afghan Terrorism: Thugs, Drugs, and Creative Movements of Money,” in *Terrorism Financing and State Responses: A Comparative Perspective*, eds. Jeanne K. Giraldo and Harold A. Trinkunas (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 114.

³⁷ Mitchel P. Roth and Murat Sever, “Convergence of Terrorism and Organized Crime: The Case of PKK,” in *The PKK : Financial Source* [Electronic Resource], *Social and Political Dimensions*, eds. Charles B. Strozier and James Frank (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr Müller, 2011), 128.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 131.

government introduced innovative technologies to inspect the movement of cargo and the entry/exit of individuals across the borders.

Criminal activities, particularly cross-border activities like smuggling and various types of trafficking have been important for terrorist financing. According the report titled “Global Overview of Narcotics-Funded Terrorist and Other Extremist Groups,” as a result of the decline in funding by state sponsors, terrorist groups have become increasingly reliant on drug trafficking as a main financing source. Drugs have been an important source of money for different terrorist groups such as the PKK, FARC, and the Loyalists. As indicated earlier, FARC allegedly earns \$500 million per year from the drug trade. According to Turkey’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs Internet site, some of the PKK’s funding methods include drug trafficking, arms smuggling and trafficking in human beings. Furthermore, according to a report released by the Turkish National Police Department of Anti-Smuggling and Organized Crime, 365 different drug investigations linked to the PKK were conducted between 1984 and 2011.

In addition, there is a strong relationship between TF activities, particularly drug smuggling and border issues. As Schneider indicates in the “Global Overview of Narcotics-Funded Terrorist and Other Extremist Groups,” there is a relationship between terrorist groups and narcotics trafficking in the Latin American Tri-Border Region (Argentina, Brazil, and Paraguay), Colombia, and Peru.³⁹ These land borders and the disputes among countries over these borders facilitate the terrorist organizations’ smuggling activities. As Lombardini and Sanchez emphasize, permissive environments like the Tri-Border area can facilitate TF activities.⁴⁰ Lack of authority along the border gives rise to illegal activities. In response to problems along the borders countries have been forced to take extra measures. After 9/11, the U.S. Border Patrol developed its 2004 strategy for preventing terrorist weapons from entering the country, which became the agency’s new priority mission.⁴¹ U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE),

³⁹ Schneider, *The (Hidden) Financial Flows of Terrorist and Organized Crime Organizations: A Literature Review and some Preliminary Empirical Results*, 18.

⁴⁰ Lombardini and Sanchez, *Terrorist Financing and the Tri-Border Area of South America*, 245.

⁴¹ ‘House of Representatives, *Homeland Security Subcommittee on Border and Maritime Security Hearing* (Lanham: Federal Information & News Dispatch, 2012).

created as the largest investigative arm of the U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS) in 2003, is “uniquely positioned to impact the ability of terrorists and other criminal organizations to earn, move and store their illicit proceeds.”⁴² Moreover, in order to stop cross-border terrorism financing activities, Canada’s Parliament legislated new anti-terrorism laws which cut off sources of financing for terrorists. Related to this law, Canadian Citizenship and Immigration Minister Elinor Caplan and U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft signed an agreement dealing with deterrence and detection of security threats along the borders.⁴³

Lastly, there are different safe havens in different continents for terrorists. A safe haven can be defined as an ungoverned or ill-governed area of a country where terrorists that constitute a threat are able to organize their activities. Perhaps the most well-known example of a safe haven has been the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan’s Northwest Frontier Province and Federally Administered Tribal Areas. Others include the Trans-Sahara region of North and Northwest Africa for Salafist groups; Somalia, a failed state which lacks a functioning central government; the Caucasus, the border surrounding Chechnya, Dagestan, North Ossetia, and neighboring areas; and in the Tri-Border region of South America, especially for supporters of Islamic terrorist groups, such as Hezbollah and Hamas. In all these relatively ungoverned areas, terrorist groups take advantage of loosely regulated territory.⁴⁴

F. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis consists of six chapters:

Chapter I includes the purpose, problem statement and hypothesis of the study, the literature review and the proposed importance of the thesis. Moreover, the major

⁴² Marcy M. Forman, “Combating Terrorist Financing and Other Financial Crimes through Private Sector Partnerships,” *Journal of Money Laundering Control* 9, no. 1 (2006): 112–118.

⁴³ “Canada Works with U.S. on Border Security,” *Los Angeles Times* [Electronic Resource], December 25, 2001.

⁴⁴ Jim Lobe, “Politics-US: Terrorism Still Thriving, State Department Says,” *Global Information Network* (May 1, 2006).

research methodology and sources are mentioned here. Lastly, the thesis overview comprises the last part of the first chapter.

Chapter II reviews the definition and background of terrorism and related terms. In order to make the reader familiar with the terminology, the chapter also reviews the historical background of terrorism as well as the different definitions of it. After an introduction to the field, the chapter proceeds with the analysis of the PKK terrorist organization and its financial activities. The main emphasis is on the trans-border financing activities of the PKK. The chapter concludes by examining PKK financing along Turkey's land border under three dimensions: moving, earning, and storing. Through this examination, the author seeks to demonstrate the importance of stronger borders by explaining the relationship between lax border security and TF.

Chapter III discusses the historical background and the current situation of the border-protection system of Turkey. It outlines the traditions of Turkey's Border Policy, the state departments related to border protection service and the current situation of the borders with Iran, Syria and Iraq. The chapter also mentions the socio-economic and historic problems of the frontier territory and draws attention to this aspect of the region, which must be considered in the case of border security reform.

Chapter IV argues different perspectives on improving the efficiency of the border protection of Turkey. It examines the United States as the case study in terms of its national border security system. The practices of this country are then compared to Turkey's border security system and its implementation. Then, the chapter continues with various perspectives on improving the effectiveness of Turkey's border protection in terms of fighting financing activities of the PKK by examining the case country, especially what it has done so far in order to prevent terrorism financing activities after 9/11. The U.S. case suggests that developed democracies have an established and separate institution with specific coordinating functions to promote their efforts to enhance border security.

Chapter V summarizes the objectives and argument of the thesis and suggests recommendations that comply with the findings of the four previous chapters to increase

the effectiveness of the border security system of Turkey in meeting its goal to halt the cross-border TF activities of the PKK.

Chapter VI wraps up the entire study and emphasizes again the importance of the thesis to the field by laying out the correlation between the border security and terrorism financing. It asserts the finding of the study and makes broader recommendations regarding the border security.

II. TERRORISM, TERRORISM FINANCING AND THE PKK

A. INTRODUCTION

Author Audrey Kurth Cronin starts her book with this question, “Terrorist campaigns may seem endless, but they always end. Why?”⁴⁵ Terrorism has become one of the most important political and sociological phenomena of our age. Terrorist organizations can accomplish the most brutal deeds with the help of technological improvements and globalization in order to achieve their goal.⁴⁶ Such activities are expensive to launch, and so it is almost impossible for a crime organization to survive without a reliable funding mechanism. Thus, as Richard J. DiGiacomo asserts, “An essential component of defeating terrorists is targeting their financing and fundraising mechanisms.”⁴⁷ The first part of the chapter describes terrorism in general as a term, and then we will focus on the TF mechanisms. Then, our discussion focuses on the PKK terrorist organization and its financing activities. Finally, we discuss the main arguments related to and the implications of the PKK as it relates to the field of TF.

B. TERRORISM

Terrorism, which comes etymologically from the Latin word *terror*, has different definitions, and as Walter Laqueur indicates, it is hard to define the term exactly.⁴⁸ A terrorist action was defined in a report to the Congress as:

The calculated use of unexpected, shocking, and unlawful violence against non-combatants (including, in addition to civilians, off-duty military and security personnel in peaceful situations) and other symbolic targets perpetrated by clandestine members of a subnational group or a clandestine agent(s) for the psychological purpose of publicizing a

⁴⁵ Audrey Kurth Cronin, *How Terrorism Ends: Understanding the Decline and Demise of Terrorist Campaigns* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009), 1.

⁴⁶ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Globalisatio* [Electronic Resource], *Democracy and Terrorism* (London: Little, Brown, 2007).

⁴⁷ Richard J. DiGiacomo and Naval Postgraduate School, *Prostitution as a Possible Funding Mechanism for Terrorism* [Electronic Resource] (Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, 2010), 75, v.

⁴⁸ Walter Laqueur, *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction* (Oxford University Press, 1999), 8.

political or religious cause and/or intimidating or coercing a government(s) or civilian population into accepting demands on behalf of the cause.⁴⁹

Terrorism is just one sort of political violence that could emerge in a state.⁵⁰ The definition of terrorism changes from country to country. Some violence that might be regarded in the U.S. as an act of terrorism might not be called a terrorist act in another country. As Laqueur has observed, “Terrorism is violence but not every form of violence is terrorism.”⁵¹ At this point, the definition of the terms *violence* and *political violence* gain importance. Paul Wilkinson defines violence as “the illegitimate use or threatened use of coercing resulting, or indeed to result in, death, injury, restraint or intimidation of persons or the destruction or seizure of property.”⁵² Moreover he claims that political violence occurs either intentionally by causing any type of injury or damage to body for political ends or occurs inadvertently during a political conflict.⁵³ According to the U.S. Department of State, the definition of terrorism is “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.”⁵⁴ The term violence comes to the forefront in this definition. Violence is the main characteristic of any kind of terrorism because it is a tool for terrorism. For this reason, terrorist violence is neither senseless nor random.⁵⁵ Even so, Wilkinson claims that terrorism does not necessarily have to be politically motivated. He argues that the term terrorism has been used to refer to politically motivated terrorism, but still there are other forms of terrorism.⁵⁶ He defines politically motivated terrorism as “the systematic use of murder and destruction, and the

⁴⁹ Rex A. Hudson and Marilyn Majeska, “The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why?” (Library of Congress: Washington, DC, 1999), 12.

⁵⁰ Paul Wilkinson, *Terrorism and the Liberal State* (New York University Press, 1986), 34.

⁵¹ Laqueur, *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction*, 8.

⁵² Wilkinson, *Terrorism and the Liberal State*, 23–24.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁵⁴ Hudson and Majeska, *The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why?*, 11–12.

⁵⁵ Gus Martin, *Essentials of Terrorism: Concepts and Controversies* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2007), 197.

⁵⁶ Wilkinson, *Terrorism and the Liberal State*, 50.

threat of murder and destruction in order to terrorize individuals, groups, communities or governments into conceding to the terrorists' political demands."⁵⁷ In this study just the term terrorism will be used instead of politically motivated terrorism. As such, we adopt Cindy Combs' point of view that terrorism is "propaganda by the deed."⁵⁸ Although there are certain common characteristics of terrorist groups and terrorism, it is still hard to profile terrorism in general.⁵⁹

Wilkinson separates terrorism into three main types: repressive terrorism, sub-revolutionary terrorism and revolutionary terrorism. A fourth type, epiphenomenal terror, may be cited, but it happens mainly in extraordinary situations such as international or civil wars. The first type is used by governments to suppress specific groups or individuals; the second type can be used for different purposes such as intimidation, revenge or punishment. The last one is long-term terrorism which has political objectives. The last two types, revolutionary and sub-revolutionary movements, describe mostly today's terrorist activities.⁶⁰ There are different objectives for a terrorist movement. Gus Martin explains the typical objectives of terrorism as:

- Changing the existing order
- Social Disruption
- Psychological Disruption
- Creating a Revolutionary environment.⁶¹

On the other hand, according to Martin, the new terrorism has changed its objectives. Attracting attention, undermining economies, asserting religious reasons, and affecting enemies have become the new objectives of terrorism.⁶²

Although it has been said that the history of terrorism is as old as the history of humanity, the academic research on the subject of terrorism began in the 1970s.⁶³ In light

⁵⁷ Ibid., 51.

⁵⁸ Cindy C. Combs, *Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century* (New Jersey, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2006), 153.

⁵⁹ Laqueur, *The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass Destruction*, 36–40.

⁶⁰ Wilkinson, *Terrorism and the Liberal State*, 57–58.

⁶¹ Martin, *Essentials of Terrorism: Concepts and Controversies*, 198.

⁶² Ibid., 201.

of this fact, terrorism as a major topic has been a very fresh field for academic studies. There are different types of terrorist movements, such as left-wing and right-wing terrorists, nationalist, separatist, irredentist, ethnic, religious motivated, etc. The issue was profoundly focused on left-wing terrorism in the late 1960s and early 1970s. After 1990, the field has started to heavily emphasize religiously motivated terrorism.⁶⁴ Having provided a frame of reference on terrorism, now we will move on with financing discussion of how these various types of terrorists obtain funding.

C. TERRORISM FINANCING AND PRINCIPAL METHODS

As Rachel Ehrenfeld observes today's terrorist organizations need money not only for funding individual attacks but also for sustaining the continuity of the organization. According to Ehrenfeld, terror groups need funding for:

- Recruitment
- Training camps and bases
- Housing and food
- Equipment, explosives, and conventional and unconventional weapons
- Forged identity and travel documents
- Intelligence gathering
- Communications among organizational components
- Bribery
- Day-to-day maintenance expenses of members awaiting commands to launch operations.⁶⁵

Similarly, Freeman emphasizes this point. These organizations need money because they have expenses. First of all, these groups allocate money to recruit new terrorists. They also need money for sustaining the daily lives of their members. In addition to some basic expenses such as training, feeding and housing of the members, terrorist organizations have to equip the members with the explosives and the guns for

⁶³ Isabelle Duyvesteyn, "How New is the New Terrorism?" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 27, no. 5 (Sep 2004): 439–454, <http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.nps.edu/10.1080/10576100490483750>, 440.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 442.

⁶⁵ Rachel Ehrenfeld, *Funding Evil: How Terrorism is Financed-and how to Stop It* (Chicago, IL: Bonus Books, 2005), 1.

implementing their goals. Furthermore, their expenses include payments to veteran families, bribes for officials, purchase of technological devices, etc. As a result, they have to organize their income and manage their budget in order to maintain continuity of the organization.⁶⁶

Ehrenfeld chooses not to categorize the funding mechanism of terrorist groups. According to her, “Funding sources for terrorism are:

- Governments such as Saudi Arabia and Iran
- Charitable organizations such as the Muslim World League and the International Islamic Relief Organization
- Legitimate businesses operating as fronts
- The exploitation of financial markets, especially the unregulated commodity markets
- International trade, which converts cash into precious commodities such as diamonds and gold
- Funding also comes from criminal activities such as:
 - Extortion
 - Smuggling
 - Kidnapping
 - Prostitution rings and trafficking in people
 - Credit card fraud identity theft and counterfeiting.
 - Pirating of videos, compact discs tapes, and software”⁶⁷

To combat TF, The International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism was adopted by the UN General Assembly in on December 9, 1999. According to the act, TF “directly or indirectly, unlawfully and willfully, provides or collects funds with the intention that they should be used or in the knowledge that they are to be used, in full or in part, in order to carry out”:

- An act which constitutes an offence under one of the previous nine ‘sectorial’ conventions listed in the annex to the Convention (from The

⁶⁶ Freeman, *Financing Terrorism: Case Studies*, 8–9.

⁶⁷ Ehrenfeld, *Funding Evil: How Terrorism is Financed-and how to Stop It*, 2.

Hague Convention of 1970 for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft to the 1997 International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings); or

- Any other act intended to cause death or serious bodily injury to a civilian, or any other person not taking an active part in the hostilities in a situation of armed conflict, when the purpose of such act, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a Government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act” (article 2, paragraph 1).⁶⁸ As one can understand from this broad definition, TF activities were criminalized by this UN Convention in 1999. With this overview of TF, we will now introduce the PKK case and its TF methods in the following section.

D. THE PKK AND TERRORISM FINANCING

1. The PKK: Roots and Cost

This section focuses on the PKK terrorist organization and its financing activities. The PKK, founded in November 27, 1978, was described in a 2010 Europol report as an “ethno-nationalist and separatist terrorist group seeking international recognition and political self-determination.”⁶⁹ Moreover, it is recognized as a terrorist organization by U.S. and EU laws.⁷⁰ Being active for more than 30 years, the PKK has been the part of the violence in Turkey during that time, costing at least 3,000 lives on both sides.⁷¹ The organization’s leader, Abdullah Ocalan, was captured in Kenya in 1999, brought to Turkey, and sentenced to life imprisonment after trial. According to a recently released report by the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, the exact cost of PKK terrorism to Turkey between 1984 and 2012 has been calculated as follows:

⁶⁸ Pierre Klein, “International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism,” *United Nations Audiovisual Library of International Law*, (2009), 1–2, http://untreaty.un.org/Cod/Avl/Pdf/Ha/Icsft/Icsft_e.Pdf.

⁶⁹ Roth and Sever, *Cutting off the Hand that Feeds it: Countering Terrorist-Financing in the 21st Century*, 69; Europol report.

⁷⁰ Lacinier, *The West and Terrorism: PKK as A Privileged Terrorist Organization*; Roth and Sever, “The Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) as Criminal Syndicate: Funding Terrorism through Organized Crime, A Case Study,” 901–902.

⁷¹ Radu, *The Rise and Fall of the PKK*, 47–63.

- 7918 government employees killed
- 22,101 PKK militants killed
- 5,557 civilian casualties

The number of executions within the PKK remains unknown. However, it has been estimated that the PKK has been responsible for approximately 2,000 to 17,000 assassinations. In total 35,576 people have died in Turkey because of terrorism (excluding the off-statistics numbers).⁷²

2. Financing Methods of PKK

As early as 1986, the PKK addressed financial issues at their third Congress, which was held at Helvi Camp (later renamed as Mahsun Korkmaz Training Academy) in Lebanon. Their Congress, which regulates financial activities in broad and professional perspective, decided to provide a budget that would be operated by appointed people who would be in charge of all financial activities.⁷³ There are different estimates on the total amount involved in PKK financing activities. Some Turkish officials estimate the PKK's annual financial income at \$650–700 million.⁷⁴ On the other hand, the 2007 NATO Terrorist Threat Intelligence Unit Report estimated the total annual financial activities at \$50–100 million.⁷⁵ Europe has taken an important part in PKK's financing activities. Roth and Sever claim that, "Europe has become a prominent playing field for PKK funding activities, as it takes advantage of EU carelessness in policing front activities."⁷⁶ According to Turkey's Ministry of Foreign Affairs Internet site Europe is very important for PKK because the organization finds most of its financial sources among Europe affiliates. Legal and illegal sources of PKK income that have been identified include:

⁷² İnsan Hakları İnceleme Komisyonu, TBMM, "Teror Ve Şiddet Olayları Kapsamında Yasam Hakkı İhlallerinin İncelenmesine Yönelik Kurulan Alt Komisyon Raporu," accessed February 25, 2013, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/komisyon/insanhaklari/docs/2013/raporlar/31012013.pdf>.

⁷³ Habib Özdemir and Ilker Pekgözlü, "Where do Terror Organizations Get their Money? A Case Study: Financial Resources of the PKK." *International Journal of Security and Terrorism* 3, no. 2 (2012): 91.

⁷⁴ Halil İbrahim Bahar, "PKK'Nin Finansmanı," accessed March 7, 2013, <http://www.ankarastateji.org/yazar/prof-dr-halil-ibrahim-bahar/pkk-nin-finansmani/>.

⁷⁵ Roth and Sever, *Cutting off the Hand that Feeds it: Countering Terrorist-Financing in the 21st Century*, 69.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 69.

- Extortion (largely from Turkish businessmen)
- Revenues obtained from the ‘special nights’ organized by affiliates
- Sales of publications
- Revenues obtained from commercial establishments belonging to/affiliated with the organization.
- Money collected through drug-trafficking, arms-smuggling and trafficking in human beings.⁷⁷

3. Trans-border Financing Activities of the PKK

The eastern and southeastern borders of Turkey have been the key element of financing activities for the PKK. Following the intervention of the United States in Iraq in 2003, the PKK has taken advantage of the turmoil in the south to open new camps in the Kandil Mountains and manage its illegal financing activities around these borders.

a. Drug Trafficking and Producing Narcotics

Drug trafficking has always been on the agenda of several terrorist organizations. Besides being a profitable business, the large demand for and the simplicity of its production, illicit drug trafficking has become an attractive source of income for terrorist groups. The PKK has been a part of drug trafficking from the beginning. It was estimated that in the early 1990s the organization controlled 70 to 80 percent of the heroin trade in Europe. In large part this success is due to Turkey’s geographic location, which has made the country a transit route for drug traffickers.⁷⁸

The PKK first started in the drug business merely collecting protection money or insurance fees from organized crime groups. Thereafter, the terrorist organization established its own transportation and distribution system from the source countries to the consumer European countries. Even so, because they fear losing the political support of European sympathizers, the PKK leaders do not accept any claim of direct involvement in drug trafficking. Abdullah Ocalan, the imprisoned head of the

⁷⁷ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Turkey, “Financing of its Activities,” accessed March 7, 2013, <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/financing-of-its-activities.en.mfa>.

⁷⁸ Moyara Ruehsen, “Partiya Karkeren Kurdistan (PKK),” in *Financing Terrorism: Case Studies*, ed. Michael Freeman (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 70–71, 256.

PKK, did make a statement to the court, however, that reveals the relationship between drug traffickers in Iran and the organization.⁷⁹

According to a report released by the Turkish National Police Department of Anti-Smuggling and Organized Crime, the department conducted 365 different drug investigations linked to the PKK terrorist organization between 1984 and 2011. In these operations, a high percentage of the drugs seized came from 60 terrorist cells of the PKK. The amount of the drugs that were captured in the operations is as follows: 4.253 kg heroin, 22.878 kg hashish, 710 kg cocaine, 337.412 synthetic drugs and amphetamines, 26.190 Lt acetic anhydride and two drug laboratories.⁸⁰ This statistic shows how deeply involved the PKK is in producing drugs. Organization members produce heroin by mixing base morphine that comes from the Golden Crescent region with synthetics like acetic anhydride at these laboratories.⁸¹

Heroin produced in Afghanistan moves to the international market through various routes:

- To Europe through Pakistan and Turkey or the Balkans
- To the United States through Pakistan via the port of Karachi
- To Moscow through Pakistan, Central Asia, and Chechnya
- To Europe through the Central Asian Republics to Moscow⁸²

From its early years, the PKK has had a vital role in the first route of the heroin trafficking by claiming authority on the drug trafficking routes from the Golden Crescent countries through Turkey and the Balkans to the European countries. It tries to fix the problems between the domestic and foreign drug dealers in the region which

⁷⁹ Özdemir and Pekközlü, *Where do Terror Organizations Get their Money? A Case Study: Financial Resources of the PKK*, 90.

⁸⁰ Turkish National Police, Department of Anti-Smuggling and Organized Crime, "2011 Report," accessed March 7, 2013, http://www.kom.gov.tr/Tr/Dosyalar/Dosyalar/2011_Raporu.pdf, 33.

⁸¹ Özdemir and Pekközlü, *Where do Terror Organizations Get their Money? A Case Study: Financial Resources of the PKK*, 89.

⁸² Ehrenfeld, *Funding Evil: How Terrorism is Financed-and how to Stop It*, 11.

enhances its authority with drug dealers in the region.⁸³ In short, the drug trade has provided a particularly lucrative business for the PKK in that region.⁸⁴

b. Human Trafficking

Today, because of several reasons such as human rights problems, civil wars, disasters and political instabilities, people from underdeveloped and developing countries have been forced to leave their home countries. Because it is a lucrative business that has lower risks than other illegal activities; immigrant trafficking has grown popular with terrorist organizations. The UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime defines migrant smuggling as: “Procurement, in order to obtain, directly or indirectly, a financial or other material benefit, of the illegal entry of a person into a State Party of which the person is not a national or a permanent resident.”⁸⁵

There are several cases that show the PKK’s involvement in illegal immigrant trafficking, and it has many advantages for the PKK. In addition to being a financing source, it is used by the terrorists as a method of recruitment. Besides, it is a good method by which to transfer wounded militants to European countries, where these militants can later become political asylum seekers. There are similarities between human and drug trafficking in terms of the routes used. Kurtis and Karacan note that “some of the group’s illicit profits come from a sophisticated people-smuggling network that transports refugees from northern Iraq to Italy. The three most frequently used routes for this movement are Istanbul-Milan, Istanbul-Bosnia-Milan, and Turkey-Tunisia-Malta-Italy.”⁸⁶

⁸³ Özdemir and Pekgözlü, *Where do Terror Organizations Get their Money? A Case Study: Financial Resources of the PKK*, 90.

⁸⁴ Roth and Sever, *The Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) as Criminal Syndicate: Funding Terrorism through Organized Crime* [Electronic Resource], *A Case Study*, 907.

⁸⁵ UNODC, “What is Migrant Smuggling?” “Smuggling of Migrants Protocol supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime,” accessed March 6, 2013, http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/smuggling-of-migrants.html?ref=menu#What_is_Migrant_Smuggling.

⁸⁶ Glenn E. Curtis and Tara Karacan, *The Nexus among Terrorist* [Electronic Resource]; *Narcotics Trafficker* [Electronic Resource], *Weapons Proliferator* [Electronic Resource], and *Organized Crime Networks in Western Europe* (Washington, DC: Defense Technical Information Center, 2002), 20.

Furthermore, the PKK has an important effect on other illegal human traffickers and forces them to pay regularly to the organization. Besides being a significant source of revenue, the PKK uses this method to recruit asylum seekers for future activities, especially European countries, by providing them shelter and jobs. Habib Ozdemir and Ilker Pekgozlu, depending on the statement of an arrested human trafficker, point out that PKK threatens other human traffickers and pushes them either to stop their activities or to cooperate with the terrorist organization in these activities, and then collects so-called taxes from them regularly.⁸⁷ Finally, during their transportation, some asylum seekers use forged passports and documents that the PKK provides for them. PKK's huge network in Europe facilitates the smuggling activities and allows the organization to attract many more customers. On their way, these asylum seekers receive lodging, food and employment from PKK-affiliated organizations in different countries.⁸⁸

c. Illegal Trade Revenues: Taxation along the Border Line

In addition to engaging in smuggling activities themselves, the PKK routinely collects money under the name of taxation from other drug traffickers. According to testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Technology, Terrorism and Government Information, "The PKK 'taxes' ethnic Kurdish drug traffickers and individual cells that traffic heroin to support their operations."⁸⁹ In addition to illicit traffickers, the PKK also taxes the vehicles which work legally. According to a report released by the International Center for Terrorism and Transnational Crime (UTSAM) under the Turkish National Police Academy, the

⁸⁷ Özdemir and Pekgözlü, *Where do Terror Organizations Get their Money? A Case Study: Financial Resources of the PKK*, 91.

⁸⁸ Roth and Sever, "The Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) as Criminal Syndicate: Funding Terrorism through Organized Crime, A Case Study," 909.

⁸⁹ U.S. Department of State, "Narco-Terror: The Worldwide Connection between Drugs and Terror," accessed March 6, 2013, <http://2001-2009.state.gov/p/inl/rls/rm/8743.htm>; Micheal Roth and Murat Sever. "Financial Sources of the PKK," *The PKK: A Decades-Old Brutal Marxist-Leninist Separatist Terrorist Organization* (2008): 67-86.

terrorists tax the smugglers operating along the Iran and Iraq border line for approximately 10 percent of the value of the smuggled items. According to same report, the PKK's custom tariff is as follows:⁹⁰

- \$65K per 1 Kilo heroin, 25K per 1 Kilo morphine base, 3K per 1 kilo cocaine
- \$7 per mule load of cigarettes or tea, \$5 per same amount of sugar,
- \$100 per capita in trafficking activities,
- \$3 per sheep and goat, \$5 per cattle.

The detailed tariff demonstrates that the organization relies heavily on taxation of smuggling activities on the land border. By using this tariff system, the PKK has taxed the human traffickers approximately \$30 million and cigarette smugglers \$4 million in 2011.

Since Turkey has long borders with Iran (560 km), Iraq (384 km) and Syria (911km), it is hard for Turkey to control its borders in terms of smuggling activities. The PKK shares the same route with different kinds of smugglers in order to infiltrate the Turkish territory and to commit act of violence. These activities introduce a new kind of financing method to the PKK: illegal trade revenues or so-called “customs.” The organization collects money from smugglers on the borders of Turkey, Iran and Iraq. The terrorist organization has established different customs areas near the Turkey-Iraq border, which include: Mosul, Bele Kati, Zap and Haftanin. The PKK collects money from transit passers, especially truck drivers, under the name of insurance fee throughout those check zones, mainly to and from Turkey.⁹¹ Overall, as Ozdemir and Pekgozlu indicate, based on a terrorist's statement, “the PKK has had significant control over illegal trade revenues in the Turkey-Iran-Iraq triangle due to a lack of a strong governmental presence, intensive local support, and mountainous terrain.”⁹²

⁹⁰ International Center for Terrorism and Transnational Crime (UTSAM), Turkish National Police Academy, *Kaçakçılık-Terör Sarmalı: Organize Suç-Terör İlişkisi* [Electronic Resource], Report No. 27 (Ankara, Turkey: UTSAM, 2013).

⁹¹ Özdemir and Pekgözü, *Where do Terror Organizations Get their Money? A Case Study: Financial Resources of the PKK*, 92–93.

⁹² Ibid., 93.

d. State Sponsorship

For the first years of the organization, state sponsorship used to form an important part of financing activities of the PKK. According to the “Patterns of Terrorism Report” released by the U.S. Secretary of State, Iran supported the organization and provided a haven for PKK militants.⁹³ Over time, though, its main sources of financing have changed. Since the late 1990s, it has moved away from state sponsorship to illegal activities and popular support. Once financed mainly by Syria and other states interested in weakening Turkey, the vast majority of money now comes from other financing means such as drug trafficking and extortion.⁹⁴ Nonetheless, recent developments in the region such as civil war in Syria and Iran’s support of the Syrian regime might give rise to state sponsorship once again since Turkey has been supporting the rebellion in contrast to Iran. So, this choice might bring the support of Iran and Syria to the PKK, especially by means of borders.

e. Other Methods

The financing system of terrorist organizations has different phases, and funding methods form only one segment of the greater financing cycle. At the same time, terrorist organizations move the money they earn, and then spend or store their incomes. The PKK spends most of its income on the cross-border activities funding weapons and ammunition purchases and on organizational and living expenses that form a large part of the expenditures of the organization. Since all terrorists inside Turkey’s border—estimated at 1,500—have transferred from Iraq, Iran and Syria across land borders, the money follows the same path. Thus, it is impossible to stop the financing cycle of terrorists inside Turkey’s borders without securing those borders.

⁹³ Secretary of State US, Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, “Overview of State-Sponsored Terrorism, Patterns of Global Terrorism: 1992,” accessed March 8, 2013, https://www.fas.org/irp/threat/terror_92/sponsored.html.

⁹⁴ Michael Jonsson and Svante Cornell, “Kurds and Pay—Examining PKK Financing,” *Jane’s Intelligence Review* (2008).

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III. BORDER SECURITY AND TURKEY

A. BORDER SECURITY

1. Definitions and Approaches

People have always felt the need for various reasons to divide the world into territorial areas; however, this process has generally ended up with clashes. Borders have been a source of conflict amongst the states throughout the history. The emergence of new states in the last century made this conflict bigger and harder to resolve. The regulation of cross-border activities is perceived as a necessity for the sovereignty of new nation states. Inherently, this process has been perceived from military perspective. After the end of the Cold War, this trend shifted dramatically, and new players have gotten into the field through terrorism and drug smuggling, and these new sorts of threats necessitate an efficient border-management system to protect citizens.⁹⁵

First, a definition of the terms is important to prevent future misunderstandings. Dashdavaa Dashtseren suggests the clear definition for different terms regarding borders. Boundaries are linear features and limit of a subject—dividing lines between states. Frontiers are more than what boundaries represent; they are the district near such a line, zones or areas that are usually limited by a boundary. On the other hand, borders are demarcations of boundaries; they are the concrete and visible version of boundaries such as fences, gates, and ditches.⁹⁶ Since it is an interdisciplinary field, geographers, historians, lawyers, political scientists and some others have contributed to the subject. Samuel Whittemore Boggs states that even though international boundaries are just lines located on the earth's surface, the human significance makes them really potent.⁹⁷

The emergence of modern boundaries, as Boggs has argued, is mainly the result of the outgrowth of nationalism within the last two centuries. Prior to the modern

⁹⁵ Warner, *United States Border Security: A Reference Handbook*, xiii.

⁹⁶ Dashdavaa Dashtseren, *Border Protection and National Security of Mongolia* [Electronic Resource] (Monterey, CA: Naval Postgraduate School, 2006), 10, 91.

⁹⁷ Samuel Whittemore Boggs, *International Boundaries: A Study of Boundary Functions and Problems* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), 18–19, 272.

boundaries, earlier ones were generally zones or border marches. He approaches the definition from a broader perspective. An international border constitutes a barrier and divides the people on opposite sides.⁹⁸

Historically, the prevention of invasion by enemy countries has been the main point of the border security system, and it was correlated with a state's sovereignty. Nonetheless, after the growing globalization trend perceptions of and the approach to border security have changed because of the necessary interaction with the parties. Since new actors such as drug traffickers, illegal immigrants and other transnational threats came into play, border security is more complex than it used to be. As Dashtseren explains, "Border security is the means by which industrialized countries stop the unauthorized entry of persons, provide customs control, and enforce applicable sanitary and veterinary law."⁹⁹

2. Types of Boundaries

The term boundary represents a line which could be drawn in a treaty, arbitral award or a commission or created naturally by mountains, rivers and shore lines. There are different sorts of boundary lines, which are established either historically or naturally between the states. Boggs defines international boundaries as "the sum of all boundaries between two nations, whether they traverse land, rivers, lakes, or arms of the sea through territorial waters out to the high sea."¹⁰⁰ Another type of boundary is the disputed boundary. It can occur between subdivisions of a country or between two or more countries. There is no consensus of the borderline among the opponent sides, and the dispute generally remains unsolved. There is also a treaty line, which is a boundary recognized by an official treaty between two or more countries. It is not finalized until it is agreed upon by all the involved countries. The last type is the indefinite boundary,

⁹⁸ Ibid., 6–10.

⁹⁹ Dashtseren, *Border Protection and National Security of Mongolia*, 91, 7.

¹⁰⁰ Boggs, *International Boundaries: A Study of Boundary Functions and Problems*, 272, 22.

which is an approximate boundary. These are often historic boundaries, which need to be surveyed officially mainly because of the outdated methods of measurement.¹⁰¹

Another classification is made based upon the formation of the boundary. The first type is natural boundaries such as mountain crests, rivers and the shore lines of lakes and seas. The type refers to geographical boundaries and has been used to establish borders for a long time. On the other hand, boundaries which are marked by stones or monuments are known as artificial, or conventional, boundaries.

Another classification is made by Boggs, who divides boundaries into four major groups: Physical, Geometrical, Anthropogeographic, and Complex and Compound boundaries. Each major group has subdivisions which categorize borders according to their regions, shapes, geography and styles.¹⁰²

3. Globalization and Post 9/11

The 9/11 attacks changed many policies including border security measures in the U.S. Warner argues that the hijackings and subsequent events were a turning point in border security management.¹⁰³ “The new security measures are multifaceted, constituting a major part of the U.S. government’s response to terrorism. A vastly increased federal presence on U.S. boundaries is one of the most visible signs of the changes. “U.S. Border Patrol and Customs agents were placed on ‘Level 1’ alert after the attacks, manually checking every vehicle and person entering the country”¹⁰⁴ Moreover, 9/11 has created new threats to border security particularly in uncontrolled areas. Homeland Security Chief Michael Chertoff has noted that there began another problem with the land borders: the likelihood of terrorists infiltrating the land borders. To conclude, the scope of border-security management changed dramatically after 9/11. The main emphasis originally was on the prevention of trafficking drugs and immigrants; however, it turned out to be terrorism as the main threat.

¹⁰¹ Dashtseren, *Border Protection and National Security of Mongolia*, 17–18, 91.

¹⁰² Boggs, *International Boundaries: A Study of Boundary Functions and Problems*, 25–26, 272.

¹⁰³ Warner, *United States Border Security: A Reference Handbook*, 4.

¹⁰⁴ Jason Ackleson, “Directions in Border Security Research,” *The Social Science Journal* 40, no. 4 (2003): 573–581.

It is widely argued that globalization is the biggest threat for national borders. It made national borders more open and vulnerable to the new emerging threats. After the end of the Cold War, trends towards globalization and the resulting flow of people and goods across borders challenged traditional concepts of border management. However, the past decade has seen a growing emphasis on security, even as globalization brings economic integration and interdependence, which lead to more open borders and more harmonious cross-border relations. Kenneth N. Hansen argues that the approach of international political economy to globalization and a liberal market aims to remove the existing obstacles on international borders.¹⁰⁵ As previously mentioned, a “globalized” world creates new problems which entail an update in the perception of threats. Consequently, traditional security threats are being reconsidered accounting the economic, social, and other considerations.

In sum, Dastseren observes the main impact of globalization on border security has been that the relationships in the international system have become much more complicated than a system that only includes nation-states, and the domination of capitalism in the macroeconomic system has caused economic and security integration more than ever before. As a result, both of these impacts have introduced new outcomes. First, each state now has less authority in forming and implementing its own border security practices against transnational threats. Second, transnational threats (e.g., terrorism, illegal immigration, drug trafficking, and organized crime) require a cooperative solution. Thus, cooperative approaches to border security have gained importance in dealing with terrorism and other trans-national crimes along with the globalization.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Kenneth N. Hansen, “Postmodern Border Insecurity,” *Administrative Theory & Praxis* 31, no. 3 (2009): 340–359, 354.

¹⁰⁶ Dashtseren, *Border Protection and National Security of Mongolia*, 91, 8–9.

B. TURKEY'S BORDERS: BACKGROUND, HISTORY, AND CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

1. Background and Challenges

Turkey has always been a cross-road country and is located at the center of various migration routes. It is located both at Southeastern Europe and Southwestern Asia. The country is bordered by seas on three sides to form a peninsula—bordering the Black Sea, between Bulgaria and Georgia, and bordering the Aegean Sea and the Mediterranean Sea, between Greece and Syria. The country has a geo-strategic location, joining Asia to Europe. Furthermore, it has historical and political importance in the region which entails strong relationships among the neighboring countries. Some of the land borders, like the one with Iran, were established long ago, but some of them, such as those with Iraq and Syria, were established by treaties after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰⁷ The terms of such treaties in regards to the borders were not elaborated on carefully by the constitution process and still create problems in controlling the borders.¹⁰⁸ The artificial border lines divided countries but not constituencies who live along the border regions. Turkey's borders also have a strategic importance because she is a bridge between stable and the unstable regions. Illegal immigrants, refugees, terrorists and various traffickers use Turkey's border to reach their final destination: EU countries. Moreover, political instability in bordering countries creates new refugee problems. More than 400.000 refugees crossed Turkey's southeast land border during the ongoing civil war in Syria. For these reasons, Turkey's border should be examined and evaluated carefully because of its unique challenges: domestic warfare, Arab Spring, political instability, regime changes in neighboring countries and terrorist activities in the region.

Turkey has been also a destination country for some of the illegal migrants. Since Turkey is a relatively more stable and democratic country in the region and offers a better life standard, illegal migrants sometimes choose to stay here and look for employment

¹⁰⁷ "Towards the Implementation of Turkey's Integrated Border Management Strategy." Abstract, 11–12.

¹⁰⁸ Boggs, *International Boundaries; a Study of Boundary Functions and Problems* by S. Whittemore Boggs with a Foreword by Isaiah Bowman, 272, 146–150.

opportunities. Turkey is a transit country in many types of illegal activities to the Western World, due to its being a bridge between Europe and Asia. Since the control of Turkey's eastern borders has not been easy, the illegal immigrant generally prefers Turkey as the first alternative route. In addition, there are routes for illegal immigrants of Africa-Mediterranean Countries, Russian Federation-Poland, Caucasian Countries-Ukraine and Syria-Lebanon. Table 1 shows the distribution of Turkish Land Borders.

| Neighboring Country | Length of the Border |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| Bulgaria | 269 km. |
| Greece | 203 km. |
| Syria | 911 km. |
| Iraq | 384 km. |
| Iran | 560 km. |
| Nahcevan (Azerbaijan) | 18 km. |
| Armenia | 328 km. |
| Georgia | 276 km. |
| Total Length of the Land Border | 2.949 km. |

Table 1. Turkey's Land Borders.

The last challenge for Turkish border security is the ethnic diversity of people living along the border line. During the Iraq-Turkey boundary formation process in 1920s, the report that was sent to the League Council demonstrated the complexity of the situation: "The disputed territory was described as a transition zone extending from the rugged Kurdish Mountains on the north to the Arab plains on the South, from Syria and Armenia on the West to Iraq and Luristan on the Southeast...The country is inhabited by Kurds, Arabs, Christians, Turks, Yezidi and Jews."¹⁰⁹ Thus, one of the main underlying difficultness of border control is the variance of ethnicities being spread around a small amount of rough geography.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 149.

2. Turkey's Current Border Protection System

a. Overview

Currently, the general entry and exit security procedures at the gates are fulfilled by Turkish National Police. The task that is performed by the police at the border gates dates back to the formation of the Republic. The service has been performed uninterruptedly by the Turkish National Police from the establishment of the modern Turkish State. The task definition has been stated in the Security Department Law no. 3201 on 4 June 1937.¹¹⁰ This act regulates the main organization of the Turkish National Police including border management. According to this regulation, the responsibility of processes regarding passports, asylum affairs, and border gates were assigned to the Department for Aliens, Borders, and Asylum Affaires of Turkish National Police.¹¹¹

Some other laws also regulate the issues related to border security in addition to Law No. 2559 on the Duties of the Police, including:

- The Penal Code No. 5237, the Penal Procedure Law No. 5271
- Meetings and Demonstrations Regulation Law No. 2911
- Combating-Terrorism Law No. 3713
- Firearms and Knives Law No. 6136
- Highway Safety Law No. 2918
- Turkish Citizenship Law No. 403
- Fighting Trafficking Law No. 4926
- Fighting Narcotics Law No. 3298
- Passport Law No. 5682,
- Residence and Travel of the Foreigners in Turkey Law No. 5683

¹¹⁰ “Towards the Implementation of Turkey’s Integrated Border Management Strategy.” Abstract. , 17–23.

¹¹¹ Turkish National Police, Department for Aliens, Borders, Asylum Affaires, accessed August 15, 2013, <http://www.egm.gov.tr/Sayfalar/Yabanc%C4%B1lar-Hudut-%C4%B0ltica-Dairesi-Ba%C5%9Fkanl%C4%B1%C4%9F%C4%B1-.aspx>.

These supplementary laws contain the basic border procedures which helps the police perform border security duties. Turkey has had difficulties in establishing a solid border security management process since the country has long and geographically harsh border lines.

b. Existing Departments in Charge

Establishing a solid border security management process has been complicated not only by long and geographically harsh border lines but also by the variety of government bodies in the current structure. The current system authorizes the Ministry of Interior to be responsible for the overall border management system. The governors and sub-governors (kaymakam) fulfill these general requirements, and they work closely with the Turkish Land Forces Command in performing their task. According to the European Union Report on Turkey's Border System, the following institutions are part of the current border management and control system:

- General Directorate of Security, responsible for the entry and exit of the persons at border gates,
- Undersecretary of Customs, responsible for the examining of the entry and exit of the goods at border, generally anti-smuggling law enforcement tasks,
- Gendarmerie General Command, responsible for the surveillance of 17 percent of all borders (125 km part of the Iran border and all of 384 km Iraq border),
- Land Forces General Command, , responsible for the surveillance of 83 percent of all borders,
- Coast Guard Command, responsible for the surveillance duties at maritime borders (between the border gates).¹¹²

c. Surveillance Mechanisms

The Customs Guards Organization, under the Ministry of Customs and Trades, is responsible for the border gates in terms of preventing and investigating

¹¹² "Towards the Implementation of Turkey's Integrated Border Management Strategy." Abstract. , 20; Adem Akman and Ismail Kılınç, "AB'de Entegre Sınır Yönetiminin Gelişimi Ve AB Sürecinde Türkiye'nin Entegre Sınır Yönetimine Geçiş Çalışmaları," *Türk İdare Dergisi*, no. 467 (2010), 9–29, 19–20.

smuggling activities. This organization has law enforcement capabilities and works closely with the Anti-Smuggling Department of Turkish National Police. Especially due to the increase of smuggling activities at the Syria, Iran and Iraq border, the General Command of Customs protection was set up to be in charge of the protection of these border for investigation of smuggling and other major trans-border activities.

On the other hand, other surveillance services are implemented mainly by the Gendarmerie General Command and the Coast Guard Command which both have law enforcement capabilities although they are military organizations. As indicated above, the Land Forces General Command is responsible for the security of about 83 percent of the land borders; however it has no law enforcement capabilities. In the case of an incident at the borders, such as all kinds of trafficking and illegal crossings, the Land Forces units immediately inform the gendarmerie or National Police units for necessary investigation and pass the cases to one of these bodies.¹¹³

3. EU Process

Turkey has been struggling to be a member of the EU for a long time. In accordance with the EU acquis, the total body of EU law, control and security of the borders are included under Justice, Freedom and Security. To make the current system in compliance with EU regulations and practices, Turkey set up a Task Force for Asylum, Migration and Protection of External Borders under the coordination of the Ministry of Interior in 2002. In fulfilling this task, Turkey started the implementation of the twinning project “Support for The Development of an Action Plan to Implement Turkey’s Integrated Border Management Strategy” on 19 July 2004 under the supervision of and in cooperation with the French-UK Consortium. The main aim of this action plan is to determine the legal and institutional adjustments and then make the necessary reforms. The final draft of the action and reform plan includes the legislative arrangement, training of new staff, institutional reforms, physical infrastructure and the equipment necessary to

¹¹³ Ibid., 19–23.

implement the decisions made. The EU body takes this border management alignment task seriously also because if Turkey is accepted as a member state, then Turkish Borders will form the Union's Eastern border.¹¹⁴

4. Need for a New Border Management System in Turkey

As mentioned earlier, Turkey's strategic location gives rise to all many illegal trafficking activities focusing on this country. For some, Turkey is a transit country for reaching the EU countries; however, for others it is a target country due to its recent economic developments. Turkey needs to reform its border security system for various reasons: EU pressure, terrorism problems, drug trafficking, etc. Since this study focuses on the TF activities of the PKK, the need for border security will be assessed in terms of financing activities of the PKK through land borders.¹¹⁵

Turkey needs more secure border because she is the most popular transit route in terms of trafficking activities to EU countries according to the EU report. Two out of three illegal immigrants in the EU happened to use Turkey as a transit country. Considering the taxation tariff of the PKK on human traffickers, Turkey should take the necessary steps to prevent trafficking activities and consequently PKK financing activities.

In addition, there is a need for reconstruction and reform in the border gates. As previously mentioned, one of the financing methods of the PKK is moving the money which was collected in Europe via border gates. Especially large amounts of cash have been transferred from the headquarters of the organization, through the Kandil Mountains, to local units in Turkey. Instead of illegal ways, the PKK uses Kurdish businessmen who periodically pass the border gates in order to transfer cash money to the terrorist network within Turkey. Once the money gets into Turkey from across the border, it is hard to keep track of it and counter the future financing activities in Turkey.

¹¹⁴ E. Popa and RG Erdinc, "Economic Aspects of Implementing the Integrated Border Security Management," *Managerial Challenges of the Contemporary Society*, no. 3 (2012): 148–152; "Towards the Implementation of Turkey's Integrated Border Management Strategy." Abstract.

¹¹⁵ Arif Köktaş, *Sınır Güvenlik Birimi Kurma Çalışmaları* (Ankara, Turkey: Institute of Strategic Thinking, 2011), 17–20.

Moreover, the drug manufacturing and trafficking activities of the PKK along the border lines pose a threat to the sovereignty of Turkey as a state. An ungoverned border area is deemed to be a problem of third world countries. This misperception gives rise to damage to the prestige of Turkey in the international arena. Also, the money coming from the drug business constitutes a significant portion of the PKK's financing activities. A better fight with all drug activities can be possible by means of more strengthened border lines.

Lastly, uncontrolled border lines affect the counter financing activities of the PKK in Europe. The Kurdish Businessmen in Europe give huge amounts of money to the organization. Most of these businessmen are actually a leg of the trafficking and smuggling network in Europe. Thus, destroying the trafficking activities with a strengthened border can affect the income of the Kurdish Businessman in Europe. Consequently, reform in the existing border security system can be beneficial to counter financing activities of the PKK in Europe

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IV. THE EFFECTIVENESS OF BORDER SECURITY: THE UNITED STATES

A. OVERVIEW

The U.S. is giving more emphasis on border security as a part of its national security strategy since 9/11. More than 7,500 miles of border with two neighboring countries—Mexico and Canada—have been affected after the changes in security threat perceptions. Since these two countries are the two largest trading partners of U.S., the flow of goods and services without any interruption due to security measures is vital for U.S. economic well-being. On the other hand, there are dangerous goods and people that need to be kept outside. Since the goal of security is not necessarily compatible with the free flow of goods and people, the most challenging task has been achieving a balance between those two: ensuring security and protecting the flow of goods, services and travelers. The prevention of terrorism has become the main goal of the border security effort of the U.S. in the post-9/11 period.¹¹⁶

The United States has borders with both Mexico and Canada. The border with Mexico is a land and river border; to the north, with Canada the border is a land and a lake border. Including Alaska and Hawaii, U.S. borders cover 19,841 miles. Of this border, 1,933 miles run along the U.S.-Mexico border—it is also known as South Border. This border line has been contentious because of unauthorized immigration, drug and arms trafficking and other drug-related crimes. After 9/11 the possibility of terrorist entry has become another concern related to this Southern border line. On the other hand, the U.S. shares an approximately 5,000 mile border with Canada. Being geographically rough, this border has been a security zone and considered to be the longest unprotected zone in the world.¹¹⁷ The Canadian border is more problematic than the one in the South because of its size and the wilderness. Another reason is that Canada has a background with terrorism. Canada has been perceived as a safe corridor for entering the United States. Americans have some general concerns on the open-door immigration policy of

¹¹⁶ Warner, *United States Border Security: A Reference Handbook*, 1.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 2–4.

Canada. On the top of it, unprotected borders and coastlines offer many safe points of entry that can facilitate illegal cross-border activities towards the United States.¹¹⁸ Besides terrorism, the smuggling of marijuana and cigarettes are other issues. Because of all these reasons, after 9/11, protecting the northern border—like the one in the South—has become the part of national security policy.

Increased border control procedures after 9/11 is have posed challenges for the U.S. These procedures have had some negative effects on legal travelers as well. Tourism, business and other legal entries into the United States have been adversely affected by the strict security measures. Furthermore, there is a need for skilled immigrants, who are vital for U.S. companies, research institutions and universities, to enter the country. They have been discouraged by these new measures and have sought out different countries. It is hard to predict the long-term effect of losing highly skilled immigrants.¹¹⁹

Finally, the border security effort has been a challenging task for the U.S. after 9/11 since criminal and terrorist organizations have begun to manipulate the notion of free movement of goods and people. Al-Qaeda is a global network using commercial travel routes and the Internet. Moreover, major political events in the world have created destabilized societies which lead to a rise in organized crime activities. As indicated earlier, terrorist organizations finance their activities by means of organized crime tactics such as smuggling and trafficking of arms, drugs and humans and engaging in other cross-national financial crimes.¹²⁰ Worse, some terrorist organizations seek to acquire weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Overall, these new kinds of threat perceptions made the U.S. become more protective of its borders.

¹¹⁸ Dashtseren, *Border Protection and National Security of Mongolia*, 55, 91.

¹¹⁹ Edward Alden, "Immigration and Board Control," *Cato J.* 32 (2012): 108–110.

¹²⁰ Warner, *United States Border Security: A Reference Handbook*, 45–46.

B. U.S. BORDER SECURITY SYSTEM

There are several government agencies and organizations which have tasks and responsibilities related to border protection in the United States: U.S. Department of Homeland Security, U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP), U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), U.S. Transportation Security Administration (TSA), U.S. Coast Guard (USCG), U.S. Department of Justice Executive Office for Immigration Review, U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, U.S. Office of National Drug Control Policy , U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation , U.S. Central Intelligence Agency , U.S. Department of State, U.S. Government Accountability Office , U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, U.S. House Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, U.S. Department of State Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, and U.S. National Institute of Justice.¹²¹ Even though there are too many agencies in the current border protection system to examine them all, a few of them have critical roles in border security. In the following sections, we will examine these agencies whose main focus is on the protection of U.S. borders.

1. U.S. Department of Homeland Security (DHS)

This organization was formed after 9/11 to integrate the agencies whose main task is protecting the U.S. This department carries the main responsibility for securing the U.S. borders. DHS controls unauthorized immigration, prevents all terrorism and improves the border-protection methods via different subordinate agencies. The main agencies charged with border security under DHS are Customs and Border Protection (CBP), Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), Citizenship and Immigration Services (CIS) and Coast Guard (US CG). DHS defines its mission as working “to secure

¹²¹ Ibid., 289–298.

our borders through the deployment of personnel, technology, and infrastructure; as well as working closely with our neighbors in Canada and Mexico, and our many federal, state, local, tribal, and territorial partners.”¹²²

DHS also coordinates the activities of its agencies to carry out its border security mission. Additionally, DHS focuses on new technology, which will be discussed later in this chapter, for better infrastructure and more efficient border environment. In sum, DHS is the main body responsible for protecting the borders of the U.S.

2. U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP)

This agency is the main body responsible for border protection under DHS. The top priority of this agency is to keep terrorists and their weapons from entering the United States. It is the government’s largest law enforcement work force to protect ports of entry with air and marine support in fulfilling its job. CBP contains two separate agencies: U.S. Border Patrol (USBP) and Office of Field Operations (OFO). CBP is responsible for protecting nearly 7,000 miles of land border with Canada and Mexico and 2,000 miles of coastal waters surrounding Florida and Southern California. Nearly 52,000 employees work in the agency. In addition to preventing illegal entry to country, CBP is also responsible for securing and facilitating trade and travel by enforcing hundreds of U.S. regulations on immigration and drugs. This is the most visible and to-the-point agency among those which protect the U.S. borders.¹²³

a. U.S. Border Patrol (USBP)

Prior to 9/11, illegal immigrants, as well as human and drug trafficking were the main focus of the Border Patrol. According to the first National Strategic Plan-1994 of the agency, the main aim was to take all necessary measures by using manpower and resources directly on the borders to deter illegal activities. This strategy was called

¹²² U.S. Department of Homeland Security, “Border Security Overview,” accessed September 25, 2013, <http://www.dhs.gov/border-security-overview>.

¹²³ Warner, *United States Border Security: A Reference Handbook*, 290.

prevention-through-deterrence and sought to take preventive measures instead of trying to arrest people after they had already crossed the borders.¹²⁴

After 9/11, the Border Patrol put terrorism as its priority threat perception. The goal of preventing terrorism took shape in the new strategic plan. This plan basically focuses on two main goals and other objectives under the main goals:

Goal 1: Secure America's Borders

- Objective 1.1: Prevent Terrorists and Terrorist Weapons from Entering the United States
- Objective 1.2: Manage Risk
- Objective 1.3: Disrupt and Degrade Transnational Criminal Organizations
- Objective 1.4: Whole-of-Government Approach
- Objective 1.5: Increase Community Engagement

Goal 2: Strengthen the Border Patrol

- Objective 2.1: Strengthen Investment in People
- Objective 2.2: Support Border Patrol Employees
- Objective 2.3: Preserve Organizational Integrity
- Objective 2.4: Improve Organizational Structures, Processes, Systems, and Doctrine
- Objective 2.5: Enhance Overall Efficiency of the Border Patrol¹²⁵

According to this plan, border Patrol seek to secure America's border by means of strengthening it. The second goal has come out after 9/11, since, as previously mentioned, border security system was decided to be reformed after the attacks. As a part of this reform process, Border Patrol has begun the focus on organizational and personnel enhancement. In the meantime, the aspect of the first goal has been expanded. An integrated approach to the border security has gained importance as well as the community engagement.

¹²⁴ Dashtseren, *Border Protection and National Security of Mongolia*, 53, 91.

¹²⁵ U.S. Customs and Border Protection, "2012–2016 Border Patrol Strategic Plan," accessed September 27, 2013, http://nemo.cbp.gov/obp/bp_strategic_plan.pdf.

The Border Patrol has experienced many changes since its establishment in 1924; however, the one thing has remained unchanged, its mission to detect and prevent the illegal entry of aliens into the United States. There are currently nearly 20,000 border agents in the organization, and all Border Patrol agents take a 19-week training program at the Border Patrol Academy in Artesia, New Mexico. In Fiscal Year 2009, Border Patrol agents seized more than 10,900 pounds of cocaine and more than 2.6 million pounds of marijuana.¹²⁶

b. Office of Field Operations (OFO)

OFO agents are in charge of conducting immigration, customs and agricultural and biological inspections at official ports of entry. They also have tasks in securing and expediting international trade at all ports of entry. OFO officers determine the admissibility of any individual who seeks entry into the United States.

One of the most important tasks of OFO is cargo examinations. After 9/11, OFO takes an important position in the defense of U.S. Homeland Security to protect the country against terrorists and WMDs. OFO's mission is not only the physical examination of cargo when it arrives in U.S. ports but also using intelligence from different sources to identify high-risk shipments. CBP/OFO also focuses on the facilitation of legitimate trade. In achieving this goal, OFO has initiated a number of regulations, such as the use of non-intrusive inspectional technology, to increase its ability to examine cargo effectively without slowing the flow of trade.

C. TECHNOLOGY IN U.S. BORDER SECURITY

To sustain the flow of goods and people properly, border security agencies use technology in their routine. Technology can increase the capabilities of the border security system, and it is hard to achieve effective security without using technology. Technology extends the eyes and ears of Border Patrol agents. United States border security agencies utilize different technical equipment and computer software while fulfilling their tasks.

¹²⁶ U.S. Customs and Border Protection, "Border Patrol Overview," accessed September 20, 2013, http://www.cbp.gov/xp/cgov/border_security/border_patrol/border_patrol_ohs/overview.xml.

Among the essential technology that the U.S. uses in border protection is UAVs. This technology extends the visual range and scope of surveillance of Border Patrol agents. The Border Patrol started to use UAVs in 2004, becoming the first civilian law enforcement agency in the world to use UAVs to carry out a civilian law enforcement mission. UAVs make long-range surveillance possible and facilitate the monitoring of remote land border areas where patrols cannot easily travel. They are very cost-effective for great distances and harsh terrain since infrastructure is difficult or impossible to build on these areas. Furthermore, the Integrated Surveillance Intelligence System provides the detection, monitoring and response to illegal activities along the borders. UAVs provide necessary information for responding units through Integrated Intelligence System. Second, there are high-tech biometric detection programs, such as the Automated Biometric Identification System (IDENT), United States Visitor and Immigrant Status Indication Technology (US-VISIT) and the Integrated Automated Fingerprint Identification System (IAFIS). Additionally, a National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS) and the Trilogy Project are designed to promote cooperation among different government agencies by allowing them to work from the same database. Regarding the high volume of individual entries into the U.S., it is important to separate high-risk travelers from low-risk travelers.¹²⁷

The NEXUS (Trusted Traveler Program), Secure Electronic Network for Travelers Rapid Inspection (SENTRI), Free and Secure Trade (FAST) and the Easy-pass systems help the ordinary traveler move quickly through border checkpoints. Furthermore, the Border Patrol uses various forms of technology to gain control of the borders and to better detect, deter and respond to incidents at the borders. Technology used by Border Patrol includes:¹²⁸

- Thermal Hand-Held Imaging Devices
- Unattended Ground Sensors
- Personal Radiation Detectors

¹²⁷ Dashtseren, *Border Protection and National Security of Mongolia*, 91, 64–65; Linda Kane, “CBP Border Patrol National Strategy: A Plan to Keep our Borders Secure,” accessed September 27, 2013, <http://www.cbp.gov/xp/CustomsToday/2005/JanFeb/bpstrategy.xml>.

¹²⁸ U.S. Customs and Border Protection, *2012–2016 Border Patrol Strategic Plan*.

- Radiation Isotope Identification Devices)
- Vehicle and Cargo Inspection System
- Night Vision Devices
- Mobile Surveillance System
- Mobile Video Surveillance System
- Remote Video Surveillance System
- Z Backscatter X-Ray Vehicles
- Integrated Fixed Towers

Third, it is also important to check the cargo as well as humans without slowing down legitimate trade. There are different types of technologies used at the ports of entry in the U.S. to accomplish this task. These technical devices (including VACIS, RVIS, biological/radiological-particle detectors, personal radiation detectors, high explosives detection systems, isotope identifiers, X-ray imaging machines and fiber optic scopes) can quickly scan people or containers, instead of having to inspect them manually. Moreover, the cargo-tracking systems in use trace the containers from their original loading points to final destination.

Fourth, the advances in communication and information technology are highly utilized in the U.S. border protection system. Border agents take advantage of visualized borders. Geospatial technology gives all the details that would be hard to reach by other means. The computer-based analysis by pinpointing locations and mapping smuggling corridors provides agents a virtual playground for predicting illegal immigrant traffic routes and methods. Furthermore, border security agents who are fully equipped with technical devices can use accurate and timely electronic information to respond more quickly and effectively to protect the border. Since border security personnel have become more mobile, radio and data communications have also gained in importance. To ensure that communication is more secure and fast, the U.S. border protection agencies use improved field communication through land mobile radio, cellular coverage and enhanced satellite communication.

D. THE NEW ERA, POST 9/11: THE EVOLVING GOAL OF BORDER SECURITY

The events of 9/11 have had an impact on the goals of border security agencies of the U.S. Before 9/11, the priority of the border security system was prevention of drug trafficking and unauthorized migrants, especially at the U.S.-Mexico border. The security of entry points and visa processes were not weighed too much prior to 9/11, and the U.S.-Canada border was almost neglected. Even though terrorism incidents occur seldom and terrorists are a few in the U.S. in contrast to drug trafficking and immigration problems, terrorism has become the key border security issue after 9/11. Border security programs have improved since 9/11, and most border security measures focus on unauthorized entry and visa processes. The attacks also triggered modernization and government funds for existing programs at that time. The Canadian border, which is also known as “longest undefended border,” has gained more importance in terms of illegal entry to the country and more emphasis has been given to the security measures along the northern border after 9/11.¹²⁹

In addition to security measures, 9/11 has had an effect on the U.S. bureaucratic system and laws. First, DHS was established in 2002 to organize and coordinate the subordinate agencies dealing with terrorism and national security. The director of DHS became a cabinet-level member of government. At the same time, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) was shut down, and its functions were allocated to the other agencies such as CIS, ICE and CBP.¹³⁰

The Bureau of Customs and Border Protection (CBP) was created under DHS as the main agency responsible for border security. In addition, the Container Security Initiative was adopted in January 2002 as a strategy to secure the trade flow and prevent acts of terror involving the international maritime supply chain. As a result of this strategy, CBP officers in 58 foreign seaports have started to work together with their host

¹²⁹ Warner, *United States Border Security: A Reference Handbook*, 24–25.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

country equivalents.¹³¹ In sum, even though 9/11 did not change the previous threat perceptions for border security, such as immigration and drugs, the attacks changed priorities. Terrorism became the major threat perception for border security policies, and consequently border security became a critical instrument of national security in countering terrorism.

E. BORDER SECURITY REFORMS AND TERRORISM

There have been different reasons in different time periods that have necessitated border security reform. Among these reasons have been the globalization trend, national security, immigration, post war periods and terrorism. As indicated earlier, 9/11 was a turning point for the border protection system of the United States. Even though the utmost aim of all border security measures is to prevent illegal entry of goods and individuals into the United States, some of them were adopted specifically for counter-terrorism purposes. This section mainly covers the new regulations at borders which are specifically aimed at preventing trans-border activities of terrorist organizations.

1. Tactical Infrastructure (TI)

After 9/11, illegal entry into the U.S. became a major issue of national security. Thus, DHS was authorized by Section 102 of the Secure Fence Act to build the infrastructure, such as fencing, necessary to deter and prevent illegal entry on the borders. As a part of this task, the Tactical Infrastructure (TI) program was adopted under the Secure Border Initiative in 2007. The primary goal of the program is to help the Border Security Agencies prevent terrorists and terrorist weapons, including WMDs, from entering the United States. The final aim of the TI program is to build approximately 670 miles of pedestrian and vehicle fence along the Southwest Border of the United States. There are two important benefits of the program:¹³²

¹³¹ U.S. Customs and Border Protection, "Protecting our Borders – this is CBP," accessed September 27, 2013, <http://www.cbp.gov/xp/cgov/about/mission/cbp.xml>.

¹³² U.S. Customs and Border Protection, "Tactical Infrastructure and Border Fencing: History and Purpose," accessed September 29, 2013, http://www.cbp.gov/xp/cgov/border_security/ti/about_ti/ti_history.xml.

- Establishing a substantial probability of apprehending terrorists seeking entry into the United States;
 - Disrupting and restricting the smuggling of narcotics and humans.
- 2. Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) and Export Control and Related Border Security (EXBS) Program**

The Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) is an effort that aims to stop trafficking of WMDs, their delivery systems and related materials between states and non-state actors. The program was launched by the United States in 2003. More than 100 countries around the world have already recognized the PSI. After 9/11, terrorists seeking WMDs forced the U.S. to take precautions to prevent them. As a result of international cooperation that relies on the voluntary actions of states, PSI participants use existing authorities to halt WMD-related trafficking and take initiatives to strengthen their authorities. The Export Control and Related Border Security (EXBS) program mainly seeks to help member countries improve their export control systems. The EXBS program originally focused on WMDs of the former Soviet Union such as Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan, but after 9/11 it has changed its scope to include other countries that pose a terrorism threat. This assistance includes long-term regional advisors, short-term expert's equipment and training to other countries for supporting the U.S. government objectives in non-proliferation, anti-terrorism and border security.¹³³

3. Customs-Trade Partnership against Terrorism (C-TPAT)

The Customs-Trade Partnership against Terrorism (C-TPAT) seeks to secure the world's trade industry from terrorists, basically by maintaining the economic health of the U.S. and her trade partners. CBP's C-TPAT strategy aimed to address the elements of the terrorist threat involving the global trade environment. The program was launched right after the 9/11 attacks in 2001, and there are currently more than 10,000 certified partners in the program. Basically the system works as follows: when companies join the anti-terror partnership, they sign an agreement to work with CBP to protect the supply chain, identify security gaps and implement specific security measures voluntarily. The

¹³³ U.S. Customs and Border Protection, "International Engagement," accessed September 29, 2013, http://www.cbp.gov/xp/cgov/border_security/international_operations/.

benefit of membership for the company is less time in check points because the C-TPAT members are considered low-risk, and CPB officers give them priority in examination over non-member companies. From the CPB standpoint, this collaboration facilitates inspection of over 11 million containers arriving at the U.S. yearly. One other goal of the program is to internationalize the main principles of C-TPAT through cooperation within the international community.¹³⁴

4. Border Patrol Special Operations Group (SOG)

Since there are some uncommon and risky situations that may occur at borders, a special operation group (SOG) was founded under CBP. This group is comprised of three distinctive units: the Border Patrol Tactical Unit, Border Patrol Search, Trauma and Rescue Unit, and the Border Patrol Special Response Team. The goal of these units is parallel to the goal of the main organization: to prevent terrorism, to strengthen control of the U.S. borders and to protect America and its citizens. Being highly mobile, these teams are the rapid response tool of the CBP to specific events, and SOG increases the ability of DHS to respond operationally to specific terrorist threats.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ U.S. Customs and Border Protection, “What is C-TPAT?” accessed September 29, 2013, http://www.cbp.gov/xp/cgov/trade/cargo_security/ctpat/ctpat_program_information/what_is_ctpat/.

¹³⁵ U.S. Customs and Border Protection, *Border Patrol Overview*.

V. TURKEY: A BETTER BORDER PROTECTION SYSTEM IN COUNTERING FINANCING OF TERRORISM

Since the scope of this study is limited to considering methods to counter the financial efforts of the PKK terrorist organization via strengthened borders, recommendations on land border security related to this objective are provided in this chapter. As indicated in earlier chapters, there are four main cross-border financing activities of the PKK terrorist organization: drug trafficking and the narcotics production, human trafficking, illegal trade revenues and taxation, and state sponsorship. To prevent financing activities of the PKK terrorist organization without affecting legitimate free trade, Turkish borders need to be strengthened according to careful planning. To accomplish this task, U.S. measures taken after 9/11 might help Turkey in achieving her goal of stopping the financing activities of the PKK. Thus, Turkey should consider initiating institutional and legislative reforms for a more secure border management system. As part of this initiative, the borders should be supported with current technologies, and certain projects should be implemented to establish surveillance and control systems in accordance with EU requirements and modern standards. Stephen E. Flynn argues that the transformation of borders in accordance with globalization can be accomplished by:

- developing the means to validate in advance the overwhelming majority of the people and goods that cross the border as law abiding and low risk,
- enhancing the means for agents to target and intercept inbound high risk people and goods away from the border.¹³⁶

In addition, the main goal of the proposed border protection system should be preventing all kinds of terrorist activities. In this regard, border protection and control duties of the new system are not restricted to the efforts to prevent small scale trafficking and illegal immigration or to identify illegal immigrants among refugees. The primary

¹³⁶ Stephen E. Flynn, "Transforming Border Management in the Post-September 11 World" (Syracuse, NY, Syracuse University, January, 2002). <http://www.cfr.org/border-and-port-security/transforming-border-management-post-september-11-world/p4463>.

objective of the proposed border protection process is to prevent the entry of the terrorist groups, especially at East and South East borders, and to guard against the terrorist attacks.¹³⁷

A. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR LEGAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL

1. Creation of a New Border Security Agency

Currently police units perform security duty at the border gates in Turkey. At almost all land borders other than border gates, a military unit, Turkish land forces without law enforcement powers performs this duty, and at a small portion of the borders, gendarmerie units with limited law enforcement powers protect border zones. On the other hand, maritime border services are performed by the Coast Guard units with law enforcement powers. So first and foremost, it is necessary that all border services should be coordinated and implemented by a professional law enforcement unit with the necessary training on border security and operating under civilian authority, and the Ministry of the Interior should be in charge of performing the duties of protecting, controlling and ensuring the security of the land borders, as well as all maritime and air border gates of Turkey. The duties of this new body under the Ministry of Interior should include activities to combat terrorism, drug trafficking and illegal crossing, and to ensure the security of the border gates, passenger entry and exit, passport checks and prevention of counterfeit, deportation procedures, security of the borders and physical measures at land and border gates. The general duties of this new body in regards to terrorism financing should be:

- to prevent all terrorist activities at border gates and zones
- to combat trafficking and illegal passages
- to perform duties related to security of the border gates
- to control passenger entry and exit and passport checks
- to take physical measures such fence building.

¹³⁷ “Towards the Implementation of Turkey’s Integrated Border Management Strategy,” Abstract, 38.

- to implement and manage the immigration and citizenship policy of the Turkish Government
- to enhance and coordinate international cooperation in the field of border security.¹³⁸

After the transfer of duties and powers, Turkish Land Forces can be assigned at the border zones when it is necessary for national defense requirements.

2. Reforms in Legal Structure

As a first step, the necessary legislative infrastructure for the new border security agency under the Ministry of Interior system should be completed. This legislation shall authorize the organization and define its duties and powers. Subsequently, Law no. 3497 on the “Protection and Security of the Land Borders” should be abolished following the completion of the transfer of powers and duties related to border security, and a new replacement law should be enacted after the transition period. The struggles on the amendments to existing laws should comply with EU *acquis* and practices. Additionally, the duties and the powers of the new agency should be similar to the CBP in the U.S. Thus, the reform process of the U.S. border security system can be a model for Turkey.

Second, some amendments should be made to existing legislation. Law no 211 concerning the internal duties of the Turkish Armed Forces, Law no 5271 on Criminal Trial Procedure, Law no 2935 on Emergency State, Law no 2941 Mobilization and State of War, Security Organization Code no 3201, Law no. 4926 with regard to the combating any types of trafficking, Law no 5442 on Provincial Administrations, Passport Law no 5682, Law no 5683 concerning travel and residence of foreign subjects in Turkey, Law non 6815 on the transfer of competence in the subject of the protection and security of land borders, coasts and fluvial areas and the prevention and investigation of trafficking to the Ministry of Interior Affairs, and the Regulation on the Protection and Security of Land Borders should be reviewed, and new laws and regulations should be enacted and implemented where necessary.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 45.

3. Joint Organizations and Intelligence Cooperation

The main objective of forming cooperative regional institutions is to establish and enhance operational collaboration among the countries of the region. Since one of the main duties of the border security agency is law enforcement, it is important to cooperate with the regional countries and to make this cooperation permanent by institutionalizing it. Moreover, Turkey should be the part of other international border security initiatives. To make trade safer and faster, Turkey should become a member of the Cargo Security Initiative which was launched by the U.S. after 9/11. The focus of the international cooperation should be:

- the intelligence network between the relevant agencies of the neighboring countries
- the formation of a mobile emergency response team comprised of joint forces from collaborating countries
- the expansion of forgery detection capabilities at the borders
- the enhancement of the international police cooperation and the trans-border cooperation with regional countries,
- the establishment of a regional program for thwarting illegal immigration and drug trafficking at the national level so that regional awareness can be increased. For example, the U.S. Blue Campaign can give insights about the efforts to prevent illegal immigration and drug trafficking. It should be reviewed considering the regional dynamics and reconstructed in compliance according to the needs of the neighboring countries. The new strategy can help to gather the support of local people of the border zones in the hands of one institution.¹³⁹

Lastly, the Integrated Border Enforcement Teams between the U.S. and Canada, and the Alliance to Combat Transnational Threats between the U.S. and Mexico can be examined, and necessary parts of these joint initiatives can be adopted by regional countries.

¹³⁹ U.S. Customs and Border Protection, *Protecting our Borders – This is CBP*

B. RECOMMENDATIONS ON TECHNOLOGY

1. The Technology at the Port of Entries

One of the goals of the border security system is to inspect all entries without slowing down the flow of goods and people. Otherwise, heightened security measures could affect the trade of Turkey, and this can be harmful to Turkey's economic relationships in the long term.

First, the entry and exit of the human beings, animals, goods and vehicles should be managed at border gates at separate locations. All electronic screening and tracking systems and other technical support should be designed and implemented with the consideration of protecting efficient passage without sacrificing security? All technological arrangements should be established considering this fact. That way the flow of the goods and people can be handled properly. For human beings, the following electronic tools and technical capabilities can be used for screening purposes that will promote safe and streamlined passage:

- Biometric Identification System
- Visitor and Immigration Status Indication Technology and Database
- Fingerprint Identification System which is integrated into national database
- A computerized entry-exit tracking system integrated into National Police Database System
- Electronic system(s) that can separate high-risk travelers from low-risk travelers (like the NEXUS, SENTRI, FAST and Easy-pass systems that U.S. CBP uses)
- Technological infrastructure which sustains the cooperation between different government agencies by working from the same database

For vehicles and commercial goods, the following tools can be used to detect illegal cargo and WMDs quickly and efficiently:

- Vehicle and Cargo Inspection Systems
- X-Ray Vehicles which have mobile inspection capabilities
- Biological/radiological-particle detectors

- Personal radiation detectors
- High explosives detection systems, and isotope identifiers

As a result of innovation in the system and equipment, the border security agents should be gone through necessary training that that provides them necessary skills to use these systems correctly.

2. Technology at the Border Zones

Since most of the TF activities occur in the border zones rather than at port of entry, special emphasis should be given border zone areas. All relevant technological devices should be used in these areas to stop terrorism and of its related trafficking activities. Some innovative border surveillance systems in use are:

- Thermal Hand-Held Imaging Devices
- Mobile Surveillance System
- Unattended Ground Sensors
- Mobile Video Surveillance System
- Remote Video Surveillance System
- Night Vision Devices
- Integrated Fixed Towers

In addition, UAVs should be used in expansive and harsh border areas. UAVs facilitate the monitoring of remote land border areas where border guards cannot easily travel. As indicated above, they are very cost-effective for monitoring great distances and harsh terrain since infrastructure is difficult or impossible to build in these areas. Furthermore, the intelligence collected by these vehicles should be conveyed immediately to necessary units to respond quickly to violations along border lines. Thus, an Integrated Surveillance Intelligence approach should be adopted to detect, monitor and respond to all illegal activities along the borders. Since the PKK mainly uses the routes that the smugglers use, this system should be launched the main smuggling routes along the land border. Earlier-mentioned custom points of the PKK in Iran border and the natural passages between the mountains would be in the center of this system to make fighting against financing activities of the PKK more effective.

Finally, border agents should take advantage of visualized borders. As in the U.S. Border Patrol case, geospatial technology facilitates future predictions in dealing with terrorism financing. It gives many details that would be hard to reach by other means. In this way, the route of smugglers can be detected very easily, and new measures can be adopted accordingly. Computer-based analysis based on pinpointing locations and mapping smuggling corridors provides border security institutions a virtual playground for predicting illegal immigrant traffic routes and methods. This system might provide advantages especially in Iran border since the harsh train does not allow border security personnel to figure out the routes of the smugglers. Since the smugglers always change their route in very time short time periods, it is hard to keep track of their methods. Computer based analysis can help the border security personnel to make future predictions and to prevent smuggling or other terrorism financing activities

C. INTEGRATION WITH LOCAL COMMUNITIES

The border patrol personnel on border zones work in difficult conditions isolated from the local communities. In addition to this isolation, the terrain of the East and Southeast land border of Turkey creates challenges to the border protection system. Since the PKK uses these tough border lines regularly in financing activities, developing relationships with local communities has vital impact on countering TF activities. Living conditions in mountain areas are tough. Improving the living conditions of local people in these border zones can prevent them from abetting in smuggling activities and encourage them to collaborate with security forces. In other words, the government needs to offer similar incentives to the ones that the PKK might offer its recruits—jobs, food, etc. Dashtseren argues that “the integration of border posts within actions related to the fight against poverty alongside the borders could provide a global solution to their maintenance in the future.”¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ Dashtseren, *Border Protection and National Security of Mongolia*, 82, 91.

D. RECOMMENDATIONS ON INTERAGENCY COOPERATION

Cooperation and coordination among governmental departments is as important as the creation of a new border security agency. Currently, the main bodies that deal with terrorism-related issues are the National Intelligence Agency (Milli Istihbarat Teskilati), Turkish National Police (Emniyet Genel Mudurlugu) and Turkish Gendarmerie (Jandarma Teskilati). After the creation of the new border security agency, it will be important to coordinate these separate bodies in terms of border security operations. Furthermore, the Under Secretariat of Customs has an important role in trade-related issues on borders. First of all, since the transfer of duties and powers takes considerable time, the existing institutions in charge should continue their duties until the completion of the transition process. After transition is complete, a coordination center should be set up under the Ministry of the Interior, with the participation of the related commands and government bodies.¹⁴¹ In this way, the new organization could utilize the database of old institutions related to terrorism cases.

¹⁴¹ “Towards the Implementation of Turkey’s Integrated Border Management Strategy,” abstract, 53.

VI. CONCLUSION

Today's terrorist organizations need money not only for funding individual attacks but also sustaining the continuity of the organization. Counter financing efforts have become a critical issue in countering terrorism after the adoption of the UN International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism. Criminal activities, particularly cross-border activities like smuggling and any kind of trafficking have been important for financing terrorism.

Being active for more than 30 years, the PKK has been the part of the violence that has taken more than 3,000 lives in Turkey during that time. Even though the fight against PKK terrorism has been conducted for as many years, the financing activities that support the PKK's existence could not be prevented until now. The organization has settled along the crossroads and borders of Iraq, Iran and Syria. The PKK conducts its activities within these three states as well as Turkey and has been successfully exploiting Turkey's geopolitical and geostrategic location for terrorist and organized crime activities.

Turkey's extensive and geographically tough land border makes it hard to control effectively. Significantly, these uncontrolled border areas facilitate PKK control in the region and simplify smuggling. This reality has led the PKK to shift its financing activities to the border area. There are four main financing activities carried out by the PKK along the border areas: human trafficking, drug trafficking and narcotics production, illegal trade revenues and taxation and being sponsored by different states. Strengthening the security of the border will minimize the main financing activities of the PKK.

Managing border security has grown more puzzling for states due to the increased interaction of its private citizens and businesses with neighboring countries stemming from globalization. States seek to maintain the balance between border security and

integration into the global economy. It has been suggested that globalization has harmed the sovereignty of states, and it made borders more open and vulnerable to various threats.

To make the borders more secure and to curtail TF activities, we took the U.S. as a case study. Since the 9/11 attacks, the U.S. has changed its border security system almost completely. Consideration of protecting the country from terrorism without sacrificing the economic advantages of globalization has driven the recreation process of border security. The use of technology as an integral part of this new border protection organism has become a major issue. New departments and agencies have been established to secure borders from terrorist or other threats. New policies and programs have been put in action to promote international and interagency cooperation in border protection. Some of these programs include the Tactical Infrastructure (TI), Export Control and Related Border Security Program (EXBS), Customs-Trade Partnership Against Terrorism (C-TPAT) and Border Patrol Special Operations Group (SOG). As a result, the U.S. case could be an example for Turkey to consider in adopting and implementing a new border security policy.

To stop the financing activities of the PKK along its land borders, Turkey should make reforms related to the current border security system. Traditional security practices along the borders should be innovatively fitted to modern international standards and new technological developments. In this way, it will be more effective in combating the financing activities of the PKK along the borders. In an age of globalization, the final goal of Turkey's new border security management should be 1) to develop the tools to validate in advance the overwhelming majority of the people and goods that cross the border as low risk, or in other words, to facilitate the huge amount of traffic along the borders, and simultaneously 2) to enhance the means for agents to target and intercept inbound high-risk people and goods such as terrorist and TF activities.

First of all, Turkey needs to form a new border security agency to stop all PKK activities, including financial ones. This study suggests that a civilian, non-military, professional single body should be established to be responsible for border management, including checks at all ports of entry and border zones. An efficient border protection

policy is only possible with an independent professional agency which is comprised of highly-trained and well-equipped border protection personnel. This new organization should be provided with state-of-the-art technologies for border security purposes and strategically placed tactical infrastructure.

Second, some amendments should be made to existing laws regarding the border security system. These legal steps should promote cooperation between relevant agencies, and international collaboration should be the key element of new border security approach. The new Border Security Agency should form a strong cooperation with the other ministries and organizations involved in activities on border-related issues. Furthermore, better coordination with other state and local law enforcement organizations like Immigration and Customs, National Intelligence and the Police and Gendarmerie Department will increase the productivity of border protection operations. In particular, integration with the local community of border zones should not be underestimated. Considering the number of cross-border activities of the PKK, Turkey should emphasize gaining the support of neighboring countries in countering financing activities of the PKK. These recommendations, particularly those concerning technology presented in the previous chapter, are intended to provide Turkish authorities and leaders with a plan to increase collaboration and effectiveness for border security management.

In implementing these recommendations, Turkey should adopt the system approach for better border security management. According to James Jay Carafano, a system approach helps us to better understand and solve the border security related issues in the long run. This approach could better:¹⁴²

- address data management issues
- provide interoperable communications and information sharing
- establish closer ties among multiple federal agencies as well as state and local governments
- ensure cooperation between public and private entities

¹⁴² James Carafano, “Safeguarding America’s Sovereignty: A ‘System of Systems’ Approach to Border Security,” *Executive Summary Background*, no. 1898 (2005): 5.

- allocate scarce resources
- enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of processes and practices

The sustained collaboration of all actors at all levels of government with the combination of intelligence is the only possible way to secure the land borders of Turkey and to stop the cross-border financing activities of the PKK.

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